

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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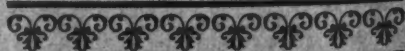
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JEAN CROSNIER

In his *History of French Dramatic Literature in the Seventeenth Century*,¹ Professor Lancaster, with his extraordinary thoroughness, devotes several pages to Jean Crosnier and his comedy, *l'Ombre de son rival*, correcting the error which had identified that play with *Les Frayeurs de Crispin*, and pointing out the fact that the latter play is but a reduction into one act of the five act *Esprit Follet* of Le Metel d'Ouville. The confusion apparently goes back to a statement by P. Lacroix in the Catalogue de Soleinne, which was corrected in the *Errata* but followed by Monval in his *Laquais de Molière*, by Mongrédien in *Les Grands Comédiens du XVIIe Siècle*, and by others. It is true that the attention of these authors was directed to the actor du Perrier, whose identification as a former valet of Molière had been made possible by Crosnier's references to him.

My interest in Crosnier had been aroused some years ago by the attribution of *Les Frayeurs de Crispin* to Chappuzeau,² since its author is only designated as C. I am inclined to agree with Professor Lancaster that Chappuzeau was not guilty of this act of plagiarism, although the skill with which it was done appears beyond the ability of Crosnier and is not outside the ingenuity of Chappuzeau.

Although Crosnier's claim to the attention of the literary historian is very slight, there are some puzzles connected with him, and it may be worth while to suggest them, and give such information as is available, in the hope that some one more fortunate may stumble on the solutions.

It is tempting to try to link him with the Crosniers mentioned in the records of the Comédie française as "décorateurs" and

¹ Part IV, Vol. II, pp. 547 ff. (The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, 1940.)

² This attribution was made by Barbier, *Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes*, cited by G. Monval, *Le Laquais de Molière*, Paris, 1887. and by J. Caullery, *Bull. de la Soc. de l'Hist. du Prot.*, 1909, p. 155.

"gagistes." His acquaintance with du Perrier as the "laquais de Molière" would suggest this, but I have found nothing to substantiate it, nor any relationship with Jacques Crosnier, the actor known as Du Perche, who Monval suggests may have been "son frère cadet."³

There is a reference to an actor Jean Crosnier, cited by Lancaster, which occurs in Jal's *Dictionnaire* in the article on Lolli who signed the baptismal record of Crosnier's son at Paris in 1677.

On the other hand, our first definite record for our Jean Crosnier is his dedication of *L'Ombre de son rival*, published at The Hague in 1681. The following year he was editing the scandalous weekly chronicle in verse, *Le Mercure burlesque*, in Amsterdam, where he also published a novel, *L'Epouse fugitive*, to which he makes reference in the number of *Le Mercure burlesque* for May 13, 1682, in his attack on Du Perrier, director of the "Comédiens de Mgr. le Prince d'Orange."

The passage cited by Monval, Fransen, and others, is as follows:

Du Perrier que pour certain
L'on sçait être un fils de P . . .
Qui dans sa plus jeune carrière
Fut un des Lacquais de Molière
Et dont le métier et l'esprit
Est par le *Mercure* décrit
Dans son *Epouse fugitive*. . .

The *Mercure* continued to appear at least through the following year.

In 1685, Crosnier aided in the apprehension of a certain Chavigny de la Bretonnière, who had run away from St. Germain des Prés with 600 pistoles, and was publishing in Holland a weekly sheet, *Lardons*, in which he attacked various high dignitaries, and had composed also a libel on Mme de Maintenon and M. le Tellier, entitled *Le Cochon Mitré*.⁴ In the account of this episode given by François Ravaissou, in the *Archives de la Bastille*, Vol. VIII, from documents in the B. N. we find:

³ G. Monval, *Le Laquais de Molière*, Paris, 1887, note to p. 12.

⁴ In the *Mercure burlesque* of June 4, 1682, Crosnier had referred to Chavigny:

"A Leyde Mercure Lundy
Trouva le Sr de Chavigny
Cet Auteur habille et célèbre . . ."

M. de Louvois menaça Alvarès de le perdre s'il ne faisait prendre la Bretonnière; il retourna dans ce dessein à Amsterdam; il fit force débauches avec la Bretonnière, un nommé Chapusot la Chaise, natif d'Issoudun en Berry, qui a fort couru, qui avait apostasié à Genève, et s'y était marié depuis retourné en son pays, veuf, s'était remarié s'étant fait Catholique,⁵ et un nommé Crosnier, de Normandie, qui fait la *Gazette Burlesque*, en France; mais ayant enlevé une fille et tué un homme, il s'était sauvé à Amsterdam. Ces trois amis de la Bretonnière, apparemment de concert, l'engagèrent à sortir d'Amsterdam, non sans grande répugnance de sa part. . . . (He was captured in France, condemned and confined in a wooden cage at Mont St. Michel until his death.)

Crosnier a eu grâce de son crime et permission de continuer la *Gazette Burlesque* pour avoir fait prendre la Bretonnière. It est de Rouen.

In 1687, Crosnier was himself in prison in France. Ravaisson⁶ gives several pages to the sordid affair. He was arrested and condemned to prison with two women, la Comtesse de Roissy and Dame de la Pallu, who were accused of practicing abortions. "Crosnier servait d'entremetteur et vendait des traités de sorcellerie." Under date of May 24, 1687, Seignelay writes to M. d'Autichamp, Commandant d'Angers, "Je vous envoie Crosnier pour être détenu toute la vie, et il faut le garder fort soigneusement." Professor Lancaster, to whom I owe this reference, sums up the account given in the *Archives de la Bastille*, the conflicting claims made by Crosnier as to nationality, religion and parentage, his escape from Angers in 1695, his subsequent imprisonment at Vincennes, his condemnation to the galleys in 1701 for having tried to murder M. de Bernaville, the warden of Vincennes, imprisonment in the Bastille, and again in Vincennes, where he died of dropsy, "la nuit du 27 au 28 (Octobre 1709) à minuit."

The matter is a little more complicated, however, for there are two dossiers concerning him in the *Mss. des Archives de la Bastille* (Nos. 10,438 and 10,526) at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. In one,

⁵ This Chapusot who had been a Protestant at Geneva, and been twice married, makes one wonder if the allusion is to Samuel Chappuzeau. The details do not suit exactly, and I have never seen *la Chaise* added to Chappuzeau's name, but he was touring Europe at this time, visiting Holland, where he had previously spent considerable time. According to his biographer Meinel, Chappuzeau was that same year composing a monthly journal in verse, entitled *Mercure*, for the Duke of Braunschwig-Lünebourg, at Celle, Germany, where he became "gouverneur des pages" at the court in 1682. This hints strongly at some connection between Crosnier and Chappuzeau.

⁶ François Ravaisson, *Archives de la Bastille*, Vol. IX, Paris, 1877, pp. 2-11.

dated 1687, he is implicated in the affair of Benjamin Crutz, or Cruytz, who was suspected of correspondence with a certain Filincks or Jokran, accused of planning to murder the king.⁷ A letter from Crutz was found in the pocket of Crosnier. An inventory is given of the contents of the pockets and the valise of Crosnier. In the latter were found, among other books and documents, two bound volumes of the *Année Burlesque*, and a copper plate containing a portrait of Crosnier. (The edition for 1682 has his portrait as frontispiece.) There were also some scurrilous verses regarding the statues of the king and the duc de la Feuillade.

In 1701, when he was brought to trial for the attempted murder of M. de Bernaville, the original charge seems to have been forgotten.

A notation on the margin of one of these documents reads: "Gentilhomme allemand dont les ancêtres étaient français," and, the "Arrest d'Enregistrement de la d^{te} Commission du 27 7^{br} au d. an"; states:

Jean Crosnier, Gentilhomme des Environs de Hambourg en Allemagne, d'abord détenu à Vincennes et ensuite transféré à la Bastille pour l'instruction de ce son procès, le 21 8^{br} 1701 Sorti le 11 9^{bre} au d. an, après le Jugemt. qui a été rendu contre lui le 7 du d. mois de 9^{bre} par lequel le d. Crosnier a été condamné aux galères perpétuelles,

Il y a apparence que sa 1^{re} détention à Vincennes étoit pour Cause d'Epigrammes Insolents Contre le Roy et M. de la Feuillade touchant la position de la statue de sa Majesté à la place des Victoires.

(signed) M. Robert procureur Gnal de la Commission

(In margin) 19 8^{br} 1701

Gaudion, Greffier

Crosnier evidently made every effort to conceal his origin. His conflicting stories do not exclude the possibility that he was related to the Crosniers of Paris, but there were several families of this name, as the index of the Archives Nationales would show. He may have thought that foreign nationality would enable him to obtain banishment rather than prison. M. de Launay, commandant de Vincennes, wrote to Pontchartrain shortly before Crosnier's death, (September 29, 1709):

On ne peut prendre aucune confiance à tout ce que dit Crosnier, et particulièrement sur le lieu de sa naissance et de sa qualité; il m'a toujours dit qu'il était gentilhomme danois. J'ai entendu dire à M. de Bernaville que feu M. de la Reynie et Desgrez n'en ont jamais pu découvrir la vérité,

⁷ *Id.*, pp. 18-24.

non plus que la religion qu'il professait; il y a lieu de croire qu'il n'en avait aucune; je ne laisserai pas de m'en informer et de vous en rendre compte.*

More important than the identity of Crosnier is the question of the authorship of works attributed to him.

The only works about which there is no question are:

I. *L'Ombre de son rival*, Comedie, meslee de Musique & de Dances, A La Haye, chez Gerard Rammazeyn, 1681, apparently reprinted in 1683, since the copy which I examined bears this date (Bib. Nat. YF 7507). The dedication is signed Cronier. This play is fully summarized and discussed by Lancaster.⁹

II. *L'Epouse fugitive*, Histoire galante nouvelle & véritable par le sieur Crosnier, a Amsterdam 1682. In-12, without name of publisher. 225 pages of text. Dedication to Mademoiselle de Kernis signed Croinier. 2 copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, y² 12515 and 25251. Notable for the passage concerning du Perier, which has no bearing on the story and was evidently introduced only to discredit the actor.¹⁰

III. *Le Mercure burlesque*, a rhymed gazette, published at Amsterdam, the first number dated Jan. 1, 1682, collected as *l'Année burlesque*, ou Recueil des pieces que le *Mercury* a faites pendant l'année 1682 Par le

* *Archives de la Bastille*, Vol. IX, p. 11.

⁹ Lancaster, *Hist. of Fr. Dram. Lit. in the Sev. Cent.*, Pt. IV, Vol. II, pp. 547 f.

¹⁰ The story of *L'Epouse fugitive* concerns the adventures of Angélique, whose uncle Artamon tries to force her to marry a wealthy lawyer of 70 years, Ariste, whose illegitimate daughter, Chimène, helps Angélique resist, and recounts how her mother had been seduced by Ariste with the aid of du Perier. Chimène had been in love with handsome Belligny who had loved her, but she had been forced to marry her father's secretary and now feels only a sisterly affection for Belligny and aids him to win Angélique. There are many adventures, and Belligny much of the time is disguised as a woman. Angélique consents to marry Ariste, only to flee from the wedding banquet with Belligny and her wedding gift of 1000 écus. Belligny, provoked into fighting a duel, has to flee, but is caught trying to enter England in woman's clothing and brought back to Paris as an *Epouse fugitive*. As he is not the woman sought, he is released and sets out in search of Angélique, who, meantime, is looking for him in Holland. Finally they are reunited in England.

There are several bits of poor verse, as introduction, and inserted in the story: e. g.

Ce n'est pas la seule jeunesse
Que l'on doit accuser de manquer de sagesse
Les ans ne reglent pas toujours notre raison
Et l'amour a cet avantage
Qu'il domine aussy bien dans l'arriere saison
Que dans le printemps de notre age.

Crosnier seems to run to mixed 12 and 8 syl. lines, as in *L'Ombre de son rival*.

Sr J. Crosnier. A Amsterdam, chez le Sincere, 1683. Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 9344 BL.¹¹

IV. *Germanicus*, tragi-comedy. I have not personally seen a copy of this play. Victor Fournel, however, states in the introduction to the *Théâtre Choisi* d'E. Boursault, Paris, 1883, in a note to page 36: "Nous avons entre les mains un *Germanicus* publié à Leyde chez Félix Lopez in-12, sans date, mais de la fin du XVII^e siècle, avec une dédicace à M. Hayde Kooper de Maarsseveen, secrétaire de la ville d'Amsterdam, signée Crosnier. Les bibliographes qui ont enregistré cette pièce ne se sont pas doutés qu'elle n'est autre que celle de Boursault, reproduite mot pour mot. Ce Crosnier, qui présente impudemment *Germanicus* comme le fruit de ses veilles et parle des applaudissements qu'il a reçus de la cour la plus délicate du monde, est probablement le même sous le nom duquel est enregistré *l'Ombre de son rival* (La Haye, 1683), qui n'est peut-être pas de lui davantage."

The play is attributed to Crosnier in the catalogue la Vallière—N 17745; cited by P. Lacroix, catalogue Soleinne—N. 1493.

More interesting are two works commonly attributed to Crosnier:

I. *Les Frayeurs de Crispin*, Comédie, Par le Sr C. . . . A Leyde, chez Felix Lopez, 1682. This, as I discovered independently in my study of Crosnier, is a reduction into a single act of the five act comedy *L'Esprit Follet*, of Le Metel d'Ouville, published in 1642, and several times reprinted (Toussaint Quinet, MDCXLII—text which I used, 2 printings; A Anvers, chez Guillaume Colles, MDCLXII; La Coiffeuse a la Mode (sur l'imprimé a Paris) MDCXLIX; etc.)

Excellent summaries of the two plays are given by Lancaster. I would merely call attention to the skill with which the approximately 1850 verses of the first play have been condensed to 750, preserving all the essential incidents and concentrating the action by omission of large portions of the long speeches which were quite *précieux* in tone. The soldering process is very well done, and though there may be a slight loss of preparation and motivation, it is only by comparison with the original that this is noticeable. The rôle of Crispin assumes more importance and the play was evidently rewritten to take advantage of the vogue which the actor who played under this name enjoyed. Professor Lancaster is doubtless right in assuming that it was written in Paris and was to have been presented at the Théâtre Guénégaud, as indicated by the list of accessories given in the *Mémoire de Mahelot*.¹² Why it should have been published at Leyden, by the same publisher as the *Germanicus*, unless taken there by Crosnier, it is difficult to say. Why, however, should Crosnier have signed the dedication

¹¹ Citations are given in J. Fransen, *Les Comédiens français en Hollande*, au XVII^e et au XVIII^e siècles, Paris, 1925, p. 153 ff., and in G. Monval, *Le Laquais de Molière*.

¹² G. Montgrédien, *Les Grands Comédiens du XVII^e siècle*, chapter on Raymond Poisson "qui créa le type de Crispin," states that "en 1681 encore, le Théâtre Français donna *l'Ombre de son Rival*, comédie mêlée de danses et de musique, plus connue sous le titre de *Les Frayeurs de Crispin* du sieur Crosnier . . ." obviously an error.

of the tragedy taken from Boursault and used only an initial for the other which was less easy to identify? I think the authorship must remain in doubt, and that Crosnier should not be credited with this adaptation without further proof.

II. *Les Bagolins*, Comedie par Le Sieur C . . . , à Amsterdam, chez Henri Schelte. MDCCV. Dedication à Monsieur Du Sassociondo, praising him as a Maecenas, and also because: "au milieu de l'embaras d'un riche commerce vous ne sauriez oublier la langue de la vieille Rome, que vous n'avez que des passions douces dans une grande jeunesse & dans la magnificence d'un habillement regulier que vous êtes autant l'ennemie du faste, que l'ami de celui qui veut mourir.

Monsieur,

Votre tres-humble & tres-obeissant

Serviteur

C. D. L. B.

The general theme is the same as *l'Ombre de son rival*, with the important exception that the personage of the servant is omitted and it is the lover, Leandre, who disguised himself to imitate the ridiculous suitor. The names of all the personages have been changed: Crispin becomes Bagolin; the father is Ragot; the girl, Angelique; and her servant, Lisette. The only other personage is the Notaire. Instead of the music and dance there is only one serenade, a song by Bagolin imitated by Leandre. There are beatings and other horseplay. Alexandrines are used throughout instead of the mixture found in the "vers libres" of the earlier play, but the quality is little better, if any. Many verses and turns of phrase are retained.

In the 4th scene, Bagolin appears with a trunk on his shoulders and utters a monologue beginning with these lines:

Grace a mon bon destin nôtre corvée est faite,
Maudit soit le loüeur de maudite Masette
Qui se coupant souvent & galoppant le trot,
Pire que Rossimant du fameux dom Quixot,
M'a pensé trente fois rompre col & bedaine.

He continues in this strain, then tries to prepare a compliment for his mistress:

Beau miel très-savoureux que doit lecher mon ame,
Doux beure qui se va tout fondre par ma flame,
Luisant sucre candy, cassonade d'amour,
Cresme de la beauté, tarte sortant du four. . . etc.

where one recognizes the language of Crispin.

Les Bagolins is a mediocre farce, but better constructed than its prototype, with more scenes between Bagolin and Leandre.

It appears very unlikely that Crosnier would have had opportunity to make this revision, closely guarded as he was in prison, or to have had it printed in Amsterdam, or that, after an absence of twenty years, he could address it to a man "dans une grande jeunesse." I do not believe therefore that Crosnier is to be identified

with C. D. L. B. although *Les Bagolins* is ascribed to him in the Catalogue de la Vallière, by Monval, by Caullery, and by others. It is quite possible, indeed, that *L'Ombre de son rival*, was also stolen by Crosnier from some source not yet discovered, but it does not seem to rise above the capacity of the author of *Le Mercure burlesque* and *L'Epouse fugitive* and we may let him retain it in his slender baggage, with the invention of the plot from which *Les Bagolins* was taken.¹³

The University of Wisconsin

CASIMIR D. ZDANOWICZ

ANC. FR. *Açopart* 'ETHIOPIEN'

M. Edward C. Armstrong a résumé dans *MP.* xxxviii, 243 seq., l'état de nos connaissances au sujet de ce nom de peuple. Pourra-t-on affirmer, même après ce lumineux article, que l'étymologie du mot est bien établie? Je ne le crois pas. Selon M. Armstrong, qui modifie un peu la suggestion de Paul Meyer, *Rom.* viii, 437: *Aethiops* + suffixe *-art*, le point de départ serait le nom de la contrée *Aethiopia* > a. fr. *Etiope*,

where the *ti* would in popular pronunciation have the sound *ts* (in writing, *ç* or *z* or *ti*). On *Etiope* it would be wholly normal to construct a substantive of nationality *Eçopart*, 'Ethiopian,' readily corrupted to *Açopart*; compare the variant spelling *Escopart* and the hesitation between Escalone and Ascalone as a city name . . . *Açopart* was evidently a quite current Syrian French term for 'Ethiopian.' When introduced from the Holy Land into the epic literature composed in France, it would be *Açopart* in the Centre and *Achopart* in the North, and it is in Northern manuscripts that the *-ch-* spelling is commonest.

¹³ In the *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de feu M. Falconnet*, etc., Paris, MDCCLXIII, under No. 12106, appears *Ravissement de l'Helene d'Amsterdam*, Amst. 1683. = (*L'Epouse fugitive*, par Crosnier, Amst. 1682, in-12.) The work is anonymous and while it might possibly be by Crosnier, there is no resemblance in incident or style to *L'Epouse fugitive*, and I merely mention it. The complete title is: *Ravissement de l'Helene d'Amsterdam Contenant Des accidens étranges tant d'amour que de la Fortune, arrivez a une Demoiselle d'Amsterdam en plusieurs endroits du monde, & principalement en Turquie ou elle a été Esclave.*

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MDCLXXXIII

in-12. Au lecteur, unsigned, 230 pp. Bib. Nat. Y* 61571.

Le lecteur s'aperçoit d'emblée des difficultés inhérentes à cette explication : (1) le nom du pays **Eçope* ou **Açope* avec ce *-ti-* > ç que M. Armstrong postule, n'est pas attesté—et, d'ailleurs, il serait isolé : d'un côté, a. fr. *precious*, *nacion*, avec *-ti-* développé à la manière savante, conservent le *-i-*, de l'autre ce n'est que le nexus cons. + *-ti-* qui donne *-c-* (*Quintiacu* > *Quincy*, Schwan-Behrens, § 195) ; *avarice* a *'-tia* ; (2) les textes qui montrent la forme avec *-c-* transposé en *-ch-* dans *Achopart* ne sont pas exclusivement de provenance septentrionale ; (3) le suffixe *-art* dans des noms de peuples, quoique bien connu par *Savoyard* et l'anglais *Spaniard* (= m. fr. *Espaignard*), est assez récent, comme je crois l'avoir prouvé dans mon article *Espagnol-Spagnuolo-Spaniard* (*Travaux du séminaire roman d'Istanbul* I, 218), et, bien que des augmentatifs semi-péjoratifs se trouvent dans des noms de peuples un peu partout (cf. encore Rohlf, *Arch. f. n. Spr.* 173, p. 216), on conçoit plutôt une variante semi-péjorative de la dénomination officielle (comme dans *espagnol*, *español* etc. > *espaignard*) que celle-ci prévalant dès le début, d'autant plus que M. Armstrong prouve que *cil d'Etiope* était la dénomination officielle et que *Ethiopien* ne se trouve qu'à partir du milieu du XVII^e siècle ; (4) la variante *Escopart* s'explique moins facilement à partir d'un *Aethiopia* > **Açope* qu'à partir d'un verbe comportant des suffixes différents (*es-*, *a-*, *çoper*) ; (5) les recherches de Sainéan ayant trait à "l'étymologie indigène," et particulièrement les pages remarquables où il a démasqué les prétendus orientalismes de l'onomasiologie païenne dans les chansons de geste et en montre les "sources françaises," nous ont rendus circonspects en fait de reconstructions trop hardies : un mot a. fr. *Açopart* qui n'a que la syllabe *-op-* en commun avec le prétendu étymon *Aethiop-* est suspect *a priori*.¹

Or, à la p. 249, note 12, M. Armstrong mentionne le verbe a. fr.

¹ En sapant l'étymologie *Açopart* = *Aethiops* par la base, je détruis aussi, si c'était encore nécessaire, tout rapport de ce personnage avec la légende de Polyphème chez les Ethiopiens—rapport fantaisiste que Settegast avait admis (*Das Polyphemmächen in im altfranz. Gedichten*, 1917) et que Stimming a suffisamment écarté (*Der festländ. Bueve de Hantone* III b, 180). Il n'y a pas non plus d'argument à tirer du sens 'dull, awkward person' qu'aurait selon M. Armstrong (p. 244, n. 7) *Açopart* dans un passage de la *Geste de Liège* comme *Aethiops* en latin (chez Cicéron : *cum hoc homine, an cum stipite Aethiope, si in foro constitisses, nihil crederes interesse*, ce que Georges traduit : 'mit einem Stock, Dämpling von Mohren'). Le vers en question (1117) de la *Geste de Liège* avait été déjà

(a)*çoper*, *achopper* 'trébucher,' envisage la possibilité d'une association d'idées entre *Açopa* et *broncher comme un Açopart*, locution que M. Armstrong doit avoir trouvée, bien qu'il n'en indique pas la provenance.² Ce verbe, précisément, me semble être à la base du nom du peuple.

En effet, un principe étymologique qui depuis à peu près 15 ans m'apparaît comme le seul légitime et que les polémiques de Sainéan n'ont pu que corroborer, me suggère de traiter, avant d'aborder des sources extra-françaises, un mot français d'abord comme *français*, de le décomposer en éléments donnés à l'intérieur de cette langue. A la lumière de ce principe, *Açopart* (*Achopart*) se décompose en suffixe *-ard* + *açoper achopper* 's'achopper, se heurter, buter,' le verbe dont P. Meyer a traité dans *Rom.* XIV, 126. Je dois faire ici la remarque que P. Meyer, après avoir formulé, avec pas trop d'entrain, l'idée reprise par M. Armstrong ("il ne semble pas qu'on

cité par P. Meyer avec la glose de l'éditeur Borgnet ("Pour *achopés*, arrêtés")) :

Et si vous ay vengiet des Romans *achopart*.

Dans l'édition Borgnet il y a pourtant un point d'interrogation que Meyer a supprimé; comme le roi Tongris de Tongres, qui prononce ces paroles lors de sa victoire sur le roi de Rome, dit aussi à celui-ci, dans un défi avant la bataille décisive (v. 1092) : *tu es renié*, nous traduirons (Romans) *achopart* de la même façon que *renié* : 'hérétique, traître, felon.' Cette interprétation, appuyée qu'elle est déjà par le sens usuel de *achopart*, devient une certitude si nous lisons au v. 10619 de la même *Geste* : *Marvellu fist le jour* (dans une bataille) *sour Flamans achopars* (= 'traîtres,' l'épithète dénigrante par excellence appliquée à l'ennemi, qui au moyen âge, tient toujours un peu du Judas éternel trahissant la bonne cause—l'ennemi a toujours *tort*; puisque le type de 'celui qui a *tort*' est l'hérétique anti-chrétien, l'ennemi paraîtra logiquement anti-chrétien). L'éditeur Bormans (au t. VI du *Myreur des Histors*, p. 669) traduit ici correctement : 'Injure : païen, mécréant' (de ces mêmes Flamands il est dit plus loin (v. 10625) : *là sunt Flamens coarz Reculeit .I. petit con che soient Tartars* [!]).

² A la rigueur, *Açopart* pourrait être dérivé d'*açoper* 'heurter, buter, broncher' et avoir le sens originnaire 'maladroit, butor'—mais je préfère pourtant l'explication donnée dans le texte.—Blondheim, *Les gloses franç.* II, 49 a attesté un a. fr. *açoper* . . . la vérité de l'evangile 'discrediter, insulter,' litt. 'buter contre,' et Trénel, *L'ancien testament et la langue franç.*, pp. 221 et 622 a prouvé l'équivalence d'anc. fr. *açopail* (fr. mod. *pierre d'achoppement*) et du gréco-lat. biblique *petra scandali*. Les *Açoparts* seraient-ils donc tout simplement des 'trébucheurs [contre la Loi],' des hérétiques vivant une vie de 'scandale'? Dans cette hypothèse *Açopart* serait une expression toute générique (= 'hérétique'), qui aurait pris un sens plus particulier (= 'Ethiopien') à cause des *flewa genua*.

y puisse voir autre chose qu'un mot formé de Aethiops . . ." — cette idée s'explique par le désir de P. Meyer de présenter *Achopart* en harmonie avec *Butentrot* et *Canelius* comme des souvenirs, dans les chansons de geste, des croisades), doit avoir changé un peu d'opinion sur *Achopart* dans l'article de *Rom.* XIV sur le verbe *açoper*, à en juger d'après les mots: "... les deux formes *açoper* et *achopar* étant entre elles dans le même rapport qu' *açopart* et *achopart*," (avec renvoi à *Rom.* VII; à noter les minuscules): ce qui peut avoir (je m'exprime avec précaution) traversé la tête de P. Meyer, le rapport étymologique d'*Açopart* *Achopart* avec *açoper* *achopper*, je voudrais l'affirmer tout de go. Si *açoper* *achopper* est à la base du mot, on s'explique facilement la variante *Escopart* (*ad- > ex-*, cf. en catalan *en-* dans *ensopegar*, 'trébucher'). Mais comment justifier le choix d'un + *aç(ch)opp-ard* pour une dénomination des Ethiopiens? Le témoignage d'Albert d'Aix, historien du XII^e siècle, qui utilise probablement des traditions épiques courantes parmi les croisés français en Terre-Sainte (v. Armstrong, p. 244), pourra nous aider. Voici le passage, cité par P. Meyer et M. Armstrong:

Nam Azopart, qui flexis genibus, suo more, solent bellum committere, prae-missi in fronte belli graviter sagittarum grandine Gallos impugnauerunt

(suivent les détails des clairons et tambours par lesquels ils effraient l'ennemi, des *flagella ferrata* qui pénètrent les hauberts et boucliers, etc.).

Les détails des Ethiopiens ouvrant la bataille avec les genoux courbés—pratique qui semble être une façon de protéger leurs corps pendant qu'ils lancent l'attaque—doit avoir prêté, chez les croisés, à une interprétation plaisante, peut-être dans le sens de ce qu'on appella plus tard *faire le choppet du pied* ou *bailler le choppet de la jambe*, ou aussi *faire le jambet* ou *jamber* (Du Cange s. vv. *assopire* et *gamba*), c'est à dire du croc-en-jambe. Le mot *choppet*, qui est évidemment un dérivé de la famille d' *aç(ch)opper*, n'est attesté qu'à partir de 1394, mais rien ne nous empêche d'admettre l'existence, deux ou trois siècles avant son attestation, d'un mot désignant une ruse aussi élémentaire et aussi populaire (particulièrement entre enfants), en l'espèce d' *aç(ch)opper* au sens de 'donner le croc-en-jambe.' En Suisse, où, d'après le *Glossaire des patois de la Suisse romande*, *achopper* dans le sens 'buter contre un obstacle, donner le croc-en-jambe'; 'broncher' (dit d'un cheval)

est conservé, je connais le nom de famille *Choppard*, qui sera peut-être aussi un continuateur de notre *Achopart*. M. Gauchat mentionne à l'historique le piém. *a pè sopet* 'à cloche-pied' et *asupar* 'inciampare' dans quelques points de l'ASI, qui prouvent la parenté avec l'ital. *zoppo*.

Ce détail des *fleza genua*, attribué aux Ethiopiens dans la bataille, expliquera aussi pourquoi ils apparaissent dans les chansons de gestes dansant dans une procession ou dans une avance triomphale et quelquefois sont même identifiés avec des *tombëors* ('jumpers, leapers, tumblers'), comme le suppose M. Armstrong (p. 248):

The clerk Albert d'Aix, who possessed a clear conception of geographical connotation and who has done us good service by specifying the basic meaning of the name, may have been influenced by the popular connotation when he referred to the knee movements of the Açoparts.

Un passage comme *Roman d'Alex. I (Tumbent y açopart e chantent jogleor)*, où *açopart* n'est plus un nom de peuple, mais un nom de profession, ne doit pas nécessairement prouver que "it must have been the Açoparts who served in the function of *tombeors* for the Franks of the kingdom of Jerusalem," mais que les Francs ont imité par plaisanterie, "sur la scène," ces mouvements de jambe "éthiopiens," en les détournant de leur sens primitif, comme l'on fait encore aujourd'hui, à l'époque du folklore vulgarisé, de nombreuses danses d'indigènes dont la valeur, rituelle ou guerrière, est oubliée en faveur de l'aspect mimique ou décoratif. Un noir grotesque, comiquement barbare, et dansant, figure d'ailleurs encore aujourd'hui sur nos scènes: le Monostatos de la *Flûte enchantée* de Mozart.

Je crois d'ailleurs que les *flagella ferrata* que mentionne Albert d'Aix ont aussi inspiré le poète du *Bueve de Hantone*, texte que M. Armstrong ne mentionne pas, probablement parce que *Açopart* y apparaît comme nom propre. Mais M. Brugger, *Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.* xxxix, 176 a bien montré que dans les mss. anglonormands de ce texte l'*Escopart* et dans les continentaux un *Açopart*,³ donc

³ Dans la version I cont., v. 3927 seq., nous assistons, fait qui corrobore les dires de M. Brugger, à la genèse de ce nom: c'est un nom de baptême que donne le chrétien Bueve à ce grand diable sorti de l'enfer (v. 3896) et venu 'de la terre de là, d'outre trois mers, u dieus noiant nen a' (v. 3894 seq.):

3927 Li anemis tantost l'en apela:
'Com as tu non?' Et cil mot ne sona,

l'état appellatif du nom, représente la tradition originale. Eh bien, dans quelques versions publiées par Stimming, le géant sarrazin est muni d'une massue (version continentale I: *bastoncel*; anglo-normande *mace*); dans toutes c'est un coureur admirable (vers. contin. II), il saute merveilleusement bien, cf. la scène du baptême

Tant par fu fiers que parler ne daigna;
 'Valés,' fait il, 'tu me vergonges ja,
 Baptisié t'ai, mes nons te remanra,
 Que Açopart cascuns t'apelera,
 Tes parins sui . . .
 Jou te faç chou que molt bien te vaura,
 Tant seras fier que home ne douteras,
 Ne ja chevaus devant toi ne cora, . . .'

Stimming remarque ingénument: "*Baptisié t'ai*. Der Ausdruck wird also hier von einem Teufel, der sicher kein Christ war, gebraucht" — mais l'essentiel c'est que même ce diable évadé de l'enfer, sorte de Morgante avant-la-lettre, peut devenir chrétien (et invincible) par l'effet de la grâce acquise par le baptême. Ce qui nous intéresse ici, c'est que dans cette parodie bénigne du baptême, le nom *Açopart*, probablement au sens amical de '(ex)-hérétique,' est donné ici par une décision toute volontaire de la part du parrain qui choisit un nom approprié pour son 'valet,' celui de sa provenance ethnique (comme le laquais à un moment donné en France s'appelait *Basque*). De là s'explique v. 3955: *Son Açopart maintenant apela*, où *son Açopart* = 'son valet, le valet qu'il avait appelé A., l'A. de sa façon' (et plus tard *un Açopart* dans le récit du bourgeois au vers 4904 correctement restitué par M. Brugger: *Un Açopart qui le devoit garder* = 'un valet noir'). Si après la scène du baptême nous trouvons *Dans Açopart n'i vaut plus demorer* (v. 3967), *Dist Açopart* (v. 3976), l'effet comique subsiste, comme si on parlait au XVII^e siècle d'un *Monsieur Basque*. Dans la version continentale II, 4046 le géant païen répond à la question: "des Sarrazins ou de chrestiens nes?" — "*Açopars sui, de Popelicans (= publicanus) nes*" ou "*Je suis Popelicans*," et l'auteur l'appelle désormais soit l'*Achopars*, ce qui a été noté par Stimming (II b, 241), p. ex. 4206: *Li Achopars i va du piè hurter* (serait-ce encore une allusion à *achopper* 'heurter'?), soit, sans article, *Achopars*; cf. *Achopars l'ot* (v. 4070, 4135, 4179; 4205); dans les allocutions je crois voir que les chrétiens l'appellent plutôt *amis*, tandis que les païens lui disent (v. 4553): *Achopart sire*; comme nom de baptême il reçoit au v. 4766 le nom *Guy* d'après le père de Bueve (épisode qui est rappelé ainsi dans le récit de Bueve au v. 5845: "*Illuec fis jou mon païen convertir, Et en sains fons baptisier et tenir*" — *mon païen* rappelant le *mon Açopart* de la version I) et pourtant, et quoi qu'il ne jure plus par les dieux païens, mais par Dieu, il sera appelé dans tout le poème (I') *Açopart* — "*nach dem Gesetz, nach dem er angetreten*." Dans la version continentale III le géant est dès sa première apparition au v. 4121 *Açoupart le tirant*, et *Açoupart* sera toujours un nom propre dans ce poème. Stimming (III b, 380) pense que l'introduction brusque du personnage doit nous faire supposer la perte de

où il saute dans la pile et en sort en sautant (Stimming III b, 305): *Achoupars saute dans la cuve—l'Escoupart salt dedens*. On dira avec raison que l'*Achoupart* (*Esc-*) est le type du *vilain* ou *homme sauvage* (all. *wilder Mann*), bien connu par *Yvein* et *Aucassin et Nicolette* et dont MM. Mulertt et Giese ont traité (*Zeitschr. f. frz. Spr.* LVI, 69 et 491 seq.)—mais nous assistons ici plutôt à une évo-

quelques vers avant 4121—je ne le crois pas: l'épithète *le tirant* est une caractérisation suffisante pour les rhapsodes anciens français et *Açoupart* n'est pas conçu dans cette version comme 'un Açoupart.' Enfin dans la version anglonormande le *veleyn* (= *vilain*) répond à la question au sujet de son nom (v. 1700): 'Jeo sui,' dist-il, 'un fere publicant / e ay a non *Escopart fort et combatant*,' dans la narration de l'auteur il sera appelé *l'Escopart* (v. 1865, où il saute (!) dans le bateau *joyns pes*) ou *Escopart* (v. 1978); les chrétiens l'adressent au vocatif: *Escopart* (v. 1822); les païens, plus conscients de sa provenance 'de chez eux,' lui demandent (v. 1880): *Es tu l'Escopart*, et, en parlant de lui, disent (v. 1852) *jeo vey l'Escopart*.

Nous voyons donc toutes les possibilités d'un nom de peuple évoluant vers un nom propre développées: quelquefois (vers. III contin.) c'est le nom propre qui prime, quelquefois au contraire (vers. anglonorm.) le nom du peuple; plus le personnage est vu comme une personnalité individuelle (quand les chrétiens s'adressent à leur *ami*), le nom se dévêt du sens collectif, qu'au contraire ses compatriotes païens ne cessent de lui faire sonner à l'oreille.

De la même façon, le moyen âge ne faisait peut-être pas comme c'est notre habitude moderne, de différence nette entre le nom propre et l'appellatif qui est à la base d'un nom (j'ai montré ceci à diverses reprises: pour la *Trotaconventos* de l'archiprêtre de Hita dans *ZRP* LIV, p. 264, pour la Béatrice de la Vita Nova dans *Travaux du sémin. rom. d'Istanbul* I): de même, la ligne de démarcation entre le nom collectif et l'individuel ne sera jamais nette pour le peuple médiéval qui n'avait pas le respect de l'état civil soigneusement marqué dans les registres: * *l'Açopart*, même après avoir été baptisé *Guy*, pourra être soit *Açopart* (nom propre rap-pelant son peuple) soit un *Açopart*. Comment expliquerait-on, par notre pensée moderne, le nom que s'attribue *l'Escopart* dans la vers. anglonorm.: 'J'ai a nom *Escopart fort et combatant*'? Le nom et la description de l'être se fondent ici dans une sorte d'unité, en vertu de la conviction profonde du moyen âge de l'identité du nom et de la chose (*nomina consequentia rebus*): notre protagoniste ne porte pas de nom détachable de lui, il est intimement lié à son 'essence.' Le nom, pour le moyen âge, n'est pas qu'un nom (cf. les *Agulani*, nom de peuple, que mentionne Tudebode, l'historien cité par P. Meyer, avec les nombreux *Agolands*, individus païens, dans les chansons de Geste)—c'est un *ἔννομα*, une réalité.

* Le nom propre au moyen âge est plutôt 'parlé' qu' 'écrit,' cf. *Cento Novelle antiche* LIII: "uno piovano, il quale avea nome il piovano Porcellino" — c'est le nom qu'on donne au curé en parlant de lui.

lution de l'*Açopart* en 'homme sauvage' ou *vilain* (il est appelé ainsi dans la version anglonormande), parallèle à celle de l'*Açopart* en *tumëor*. Ce sont probablement la massue traditionnelle chez l' 'homme sauvage' (v. Mulertt et Giese) et l'aspect terrible de ce personnage qui doivent avoir été les points de contact. L'homme sauvage était déjà chez Chrétien susceptible de se transformer en Maure, cf. l. c. v. 288: "*Un vilain, qui ressanbloit mor, / Grant est hideus a desmesure, / Einsî tres leide creature / Qu'an ne pourroit dire de boche* — d'autre part l'*Açopart* de *Bueve* est en général une créature du diable. Nous assistons donc à l'évolution: 'homme sauvage' > 'Maure' > '*Açopart*,' c'est dire que le sobriquet d'une certaine population exotique se fond dans le vague du 'folklore géographique' du Moyen Âge, monde fermé à qui un classement simple s'impose: *Païen ont tort* . . . Tous les non-chrétiens deviendront 'les autres,' 'les Barbares,' 'les Sarrazins' et toutes les dénominations de peuples exotiques se ressembleront dans leur vague: tout de suite se présente à notre mémoire le passage de la *Chanson des Saisnes*, où Jean Bodel donne, comme le dit bien Bédier, *Légendes épiques* IV, 47 "ce dénombrement fantasque de l'armée de Guiteclin":

Danois, Saisne, Lutis, Hongre, Rous et Hermin
[Et] la gent de Illande, Leonois, Pelerin . . .
Cheneleu, Açopart, Persan, Tur, Bedoin:
Dou regné de Marec vindrent li Barbarin
Et li Amoravi et li Alexandrin.

De même dans *Gormont et Isebart* Gormond, 'celui d'Orient,' 'empereur de Leutiz,' 'Arabe,' "commande des Irlandais, lesquels voisinent avec des Sarrazins . . . , avec des Turcs et des Persans." "N'est-ce pas dire que l'auteur de *Gormond*, tout comme les poètes de *Roland*, d'*Aiquin*, des *Saisnes*, d'*Aliscans*, etc., voulant ranger en bataille toute la 'païenie' contre toute la chrétienté, a employé pêle-mêle les noms des peuples les plus hétéroclites . . . ?" On pourrait ajouter que ce pêle-mêle barbare, ce pandémonium hétéroclite qui est toujours présent à l'esprit du poète orthodoxe, est pour lui la manifestation même du désordre, des "variations" inhérentes au paganisme et aux assauts du Malin, alors que la loi chrétienne est "une," simple et éternelle. Les "chimères" de Notre-Dame sont multiples et déconcertantes dans leur variété, comme les attaques du diable, la vraie religion n'a qu'une seule beauté. Les Açoparts sont une variante de la laideur diabolique jugée d'avance par Dieu.

GERMAIN COLIN BUCHER AND GIROLAMO ANGERIANO

The poems of Germain Colin (c. 1475-1545) were published for the first time by Joseph Denais about fifty years ago.¹ The author, a native of Angers, was Secretary to the Grand Master of Malta, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, and before the recovery of his poems only somewhat faintly known to literary history as a partisan of Marot against Sagon. His verses are interesting; they are written in a style perhaps as lively as that of Saint-Gelais and on the whole smoother. Denais goes further (p. 67):

Germain Colin Bucher est un écrivain qui ne méritait point le profond oubli où il est tombé. Bien plus! au risque d'être accusé de me passionner trop pour ses écrits, j'oserai poser cette question: son contemporain Clément Marot est-il vraiment supérieur à Colin Bucher?

Apart from some fifty epitaphs and about as many other verses of occasional inspiration, most of the 290 poems first published by Denais are amatory verses addressed by Colin to his mistress, Gylon. In these poems to Gylon, Denais very rightly finds most of Colin's charm; here "l'esprit vif, alerte, pétillant de saillies, s'élève par moment à un rare degré d'énergie et d'autorité" (p. 68). He gives several examples.

Je prends encore au hasard ce petit conte: *Des cruaultez de Gylon*. N'est-il pas pour plaire, dans sa gracieuse naïveté:

Quand Narcissus se rend a la fontaine,
Ou il mourut par sort aventureux,
Il fut mue en florette certaine
Dont il a loz eternal et heureux,
Car bien souvent les bergiers amoureux
La vont cueillir es-florissants preaux,
Et quand et quand bergieres deux a deux
En font bouquets, ceintures et chappeaulx
Qu'ils present plus que roynes leurs aneaulx.
Hyacinthus ce bel enfant aussy
Soubz accable de pierres a monceaux
Fut transforme par Phoebus en soucy.
Et Adonis de beaute tant fulcy,
Qui de Venus aymoît tant l'embrasseure,
D'ung fier sangler fut a la mort transy
Et converty en rouge floriture.

¹ *Un Emule de Clément Marot; les poésies de Germain Colin Bucher*, Paris (Techener), 1890.

Mais toy! Pourtant que ta fiere nature
 Au gre d'amour ne veult faire partie
 Et que tu es fiere et rebelle et dure,
 Dure seras en dur roc convertie.

Comme cette interjection "Mais toy!" succédant à ce joli tableau produit un effet puissant! Comme le ton change et arrive de la grâce du récit mythologique, par un art véritable, aux "duretés" de la fin que le poète réservait à son insensible Gylon!

Regretfully we shall have to moderate somewhat these expressions of admiration. A sixteenth-century poet may be safely praised for the vivacity of his language, but when, as here, the critic approaches the topics of arrangement and invention, he is apt to be at any moment confounded by a discovery of the poet's source. All credit for the invention and arrangement of the present poem belongs to Girolamo Angeriano, from whom Colin Bucher has translated it. Still, we may, I think, agree that translation from a somewhat prim Latin into the more garrulous vernacular has increased its charm. Colin has not impoverished it. It is almost as though Angeriano, whose mind after all functioned in a modern language, had forced into the tight lacing of his Latin the vernacular poem which Colin has liberated.

AD CAELIAM

Dum cernit nitida sese Narcissus in unda
 Et perit, in florem labitur omne decus.
 Saepe illum in pratis pueri et legere puellae
 Textentes pexis florida sarta comis.
 Dum pressat disci moles onerosa Hyacinthum,
 Quaesitus Phoebos flos tener haesit humo.
 Ille etiam rabies apri quem dira furentis
 Pressit, Acidalium per nemus omne rubet.
 Tu quia nec flammam nosti, neque dulcis amoris
 Praemia, eris duro in marmore dura silex.

Even more hazardous is the search for personal confessions in the small poems of the sixteenth century. Denais writes (p. 15):

Dans son prologue il raconte comment, séduit par une lecture de Virgile, il voulut d'abord goûter à la poésie. Mais rebuté dès les premières difficultés il eut le malheur de trop écouter Vénus. . . .

Mais las Phœbus a la barbe doree
 Voyant d'en hault que son eau voulois prendre
 Pour en gouter, sans plus m'alla deffendre
 Et prohiber le goust de la boyture,
 Dont honte et dueil me vindrent tant surprendre

Que longtemps quis au centre sepulture.
 Mais puy Venus, d'amoureuse nature,
 Prenant pitie de mes griefs et labeurs
 Me dist: Colin, va prendre nourriture
 En ma fontaine. . . .

But Colin's very Prologue is only a translation of Angeriano's third poem. The lines corresponding to those just quoted are as follows:

DE SEIPSO

Aonium ut fierem vates haurire liquorem
 Optabam, et lauri nectere fronde caput.
 Accessi ad fontes, vidit me Phœbus ab alto
 Culmine, quae pocis dona negantur, ait.
 Ejectus fleui, tandem miserata labores
 Alma Venus, Paphias i bibe, dixit, aquas. . . .

The reference to Virgil, for what it may be worth, is Colin's own. Denais' statement (p. 34), "L'existence de Germain Colin paraît s'être achevée dans une sombre mélancholie, un véritable dégoût de tout," may be true, but it is not well founded by the quotation of his seventh poem, since this too is from Angeriano. Colin may indeed have become gloomy and poor, and have attributed his misfortunes to love (p. 15), but the verses given as evidence are again from Angeriano. Denais embarks (pp. 15-21) on a sketch of the history of the poet's passion for Gylon, but virtually all the poems he cites, some of them fairly long ones, are translated from the same Latin poet. Even the "portrait très flatteur" (p. 16) of this lady is really a portrait of Angeriano's Caelia. So much for the editor's statement (p. 42) that, "En cette introduction nous nous sommes attaché surtout à citer les vers qui ont un intérêt biographique, historique, sans nous occuper beaucoup ici de leur valeur littéraire."

Fifty of Colin Bucher's poems are from Angeriano, surely a large debt to owe to a single source. About one-quarter of Angeriano's book has gone to make about one-sixth of Colin's. There was nothing unusual in the mere fact of borrowing from Angeriano; indeed, if invention gives title to ownership, this Latin poet may claim a considerable share in the verse of the sixteenth century whether Italian, French, or English; but no one else, I think, has pillaged him so thoroughly as Colin Bucher. His *Ἐρωτικά* was published at Florence in 1512, but only became influential

when republished at Naples in 1520. The poet was a Neapolitan, but virtually nothing is known of him apart from this book. The mere accident of his name may have given him a special interest for Germain Colin of Angers. Possibly also the fact that Angeriano's book had become very well-known may help explain why Colin failed to publish his own, so deeply indebted to it. Finally, Colin's smooth style is certainly in part due to the discipline of his Latin model.

The following table gives the incipits of Colin Bucher's poems and of their originals. References are to Denais' edition of Colin and to the Naples, 1520, edition of Angeriano's *Ἑρωτοπαίγνιον*:

Colin Bucher

- p. 77. *Lisant ung jour.*
 80. *Voullant sçavoir.*
 82. *Tu le sçays bien.*
 82. *Pleurant je vins.*
 82. *Amours dormant.*
 83. *Jadis vivoys.*
 84. *Tu es ung Dieu.*
 84. *Quand Narcissus.*
 85. *Tout mon esprit.*
 86. *Jadis Paris veid.*
 86. *Trop se deçoit.*
 86. *Le feu mollist.*
 87. *Mon compaignon.*
 90. *Jehan de Paris.*
 91. *Jusques au fons.*
 92. *Que paings-tu.*
 94. *Cil qui premier.*
 96. *Pourquoy fuis-tu.*
 96. *Quand Jupiter Gylon.*
 97. *Pallas pour ses vertus.*
 97. *Ne te fie aux humains.*
 98. *Mais pourquoy penses-tu.*
 99. *Gylon se veid.*
 100. *La voyez-vous enflee.*
 102. *Sept signes sont.*
 104. *Ou est Scopas.*
 104. *Si je compose.*
 106. *Conseille moy.*
 106. *Toutes les nuictz.*
 107. *Gylon lisant.*
 108. *Jupiter devint or.*
 113. *L'autre nuytee.*
 117. *Venus dormoit.*
 118. *Que advises-tu.*

Angeriano

- sig. a2. *Aonium ut fierem.*
 e4. *Ut scirem quanto.*
 b2. *Saevis, nosco, noces.*
 b4. *Flens veni in terras.*
 b2. *Quum dormiret Amor.*
 b1. *Vivebam, nunc.*
 a4. *Es deus, ambobus.*
 b3. *Dum cernit nitida.*
 c1. *Tota anima ex oculis,*
 b4. *Tres quondam nudas.*
 c4. *Fallitur esse deum.*
 b4. *Ferrum flamma domat.*
 c4. *Cur sic exardes?*
 b4. *Fingeret ut sculptor.*
 b4. *Mirabar (memini).*
 b3. *Quid pingis pictor.*
 c4. *In tabula primus.*
 b4. *Cur linquis caelum.*
 c1. *Juppiter humanae.*
 b1. *Numen habes Pallas.*
 d1. *Ne fide humanis.*
 c4. *Cur immortalem te.*
 a4. *Auspiciens pictam.*
 d1. *Ecce tumet forma.*
 d2. *Septem errant ignes.*
 b4. *Nunc ubi Praxiteles.*
 c4. *Si molles elegos.*
 b1. *Consule quid faciam.*
 d4. *Non sinit culex.*
 e4. *Quum legeret.*
 e1. *Fit cygnus, taurus.*
 c4. *Armatu telis puer.*
 e4. *Forte sub umbrosa.*
 e4. *Quid speculum spectas.*

Colin Bucher

- p. 119. J'alloys chantant.
 120. Gylon floit.
 120. Qui t'a baillez.
 122. Si mon regard.
 122. Gylon sommeille.
 130. Ung jour Gylon.
 132. Les dieux au ciel.
 133. Que me chault il.
 149. Veulx tu sçavoir.
 151. Du beau printems.
 156. Quand Cupilo veit.
 157. Le grand yver.
 168. Apres ma mort.
 174. Espoir abuse nostre vie.
 179. Bien tost apres.
 194. Sus ung drap d'or.
 199. Quant Venus veit.

Angeriano

- sig. c2. Cantabam in sylvis.
 c4. Caelia dum teretem.
 d4. Quis tibi tot.
 b4. Si nimis intueor.
 a4. Caelia fatur, Amor.
 d4. Aestiva recubans.
 a4. Cernentes superi.
 a4. Quid mihi barbaricae.
 a4 Post obitum non.
 f2. Veris honor flos.
 e4. Vidit ut aetherios.
 d4. Pelliceam induerat.
 f2. In cinerem fuero.
 a4. Ludificat vitam spes.
 e4. Exoriens postquam.
 b4. Se nudam aurato.
 b4. Partenopen quum laeta.

Angeriano himself has his sources, though he treats them with much more originality than Colin shows in borrowing from him. He is perhaps most deeply indebted to the Greek Anthology,² and hence served as an important conduit by which its themes made their way to the vernacular poets. Some seventeen of Colin Bucher's poems specified above are thus ultimately of Greek origin. But this matter, and also the matter of Colin's other direct sources, may best be left for another occasion.

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ÖWER KOPP UN WUNNEN

Im *Schleswig-Holsteinischen Wörterbuch* v (1935), 739 notiert Mensing eine Eiderstedter Redensart wie folgt: "‘he keem to Water öwer Kopp un Wunnen.’ Herkunft dunkel (zu *winden*?)."—Die-selbe Wendung findet sich a. a. o. III (1931), 257/258 ebenfalls ohne den Versuch einer Erklärung.

Kopp oder *Kupp* ist in Schleswig im Sinne von *Erhöhung* ge-bräuchlich. Mensing a. a. o. III, 260 bringt mehrere Belege dafür, daß "*Kopp* in Ortsnamen eine Anhöhe bezeichnet." (vgl. dazu schlesisch *Schneekoppe*). In *Wunnen* sehe ich das schon im 9 Jh.

² See the present writer's *Greek Anthology in Italy*, Ithaca, 1935, p. 169.

als selbständiges Substantiv verlorene *Wunne*, erhalten in der weiderechtlichen Formel *Wunne* und *Weide* in der Benennung *Wonnemonat* (= Mai, der Monat, in dem das Vieh auf die Weide getrieben wird).

Eiderstedt ist eingedeichtes Marschland; seine Wiesen sind durch Dammbauten gegen die See geschützt; über *Kopp un Wunnen* zum Wasser kommen heißt, sich nicht an den gebahnten Weg halten sondern querfeldein über Deich und Weide laufen, über Erhöhungen und Vertiefungen, über Einfriedung und Hindernis,—über Stock und Stein.

Daß ein dem Deutschen verloren gegangenes *Wunne* sich grade im äussersten nordwestlichen Aussenposten des deutschen Sprachgebiets erhalten haben soll, ist nicht unglaublich, wenn wir auf seine Fortexistenz auch im Schweizerischen verweisen können. Wander belegt im *Deutschen Sprichwörter-Lexikon* v (1880), 452 *Wun* aus Solothurn, wozu schon Stalder (*Versuch eines schweizer. Idiotikons*, II [1813], 459) für Zürich mit heranzuziehen ist. Jeder, der mit der neueren Literatur zur Wortforschung vertraut ist, kennt jene merkwürdigen Übereinstimmungen zwischen den entlegenen Südwest- und Nordwest-Ausläufern des deutschen Sprachfeldes, die so oft ältere Zustände konservieren.¹ In unserm Fall kommt noch hinzu, daß *Wunne* durch ein geographisch und phonetisch gleich benachbartes friesisches *Wung* gestützt sein mochte. Der Guttural wird nicht gesprochen und wirkt sich artikulatorisch nur als schwache Nasalisierung des *n* aus. *Wun* oder *Won*, alts., ags. *wang* 'Feld, Ebene,' anord. *vangr* 'Aue' hat im Friesischen bis heute eine Bedeutung, die es in die nächste Nachbarschaft von *Wun* und *Weide* rückt. Nach Mensing a. a. o. v, 738 wurde "das *Wunge*-Land als gemeinschaftliche Weide benutzt. . . . In Nordfriesland bezeichnete man mit *Wong* die Ackergemeinschaft mehrerer an einem bestimmten Feld, das nur gemeinschaftlich bearbeitet werden durfte." So viel ich sehe, handelt es sich nicht eigentlich um Ackerland und Ackerarbeit sondern genau im Sinne des alten *Wunne* um Wiesenland und demzufolge Heuen. Das geht klar aus einer Beliebung von Bordelum 1754 hervor, die Mensing a. a. o. v, 525 zitiert: "Wenn es zehn Tage nach Mai ist, so sollen die *Wanlemmer* nicht mehr in der *Wung* gehen." Friesisch *wanie*

¹ Letzte, beste Zusammenfassung bei O. Springer: German and West Germanic. *Germanic Review*, XVI (1941), 3 ff.

ist *gewöhnen*; *Wanlemmer* sind die noch nicht entwöhnten Lämmer. Eine Kombination von *Wun* und *Wunne* verbietet die Lautgeschichte, aber zur Erklärung der Erhaltung von schleswigisch *Wunne* darf man das friesische Wort heranziehen, dessen Bedeutsnähne sich im Sinne der Konservierung der alten Form hat auswirken können.

Über *Wunne* sind ja die Akten noch nicht geschlossen. Das *Grimmsche Wörterbuch* ist bis zum Wort *Wonne* noch nicht vordgedrungen; weder das Badische, noch das Schweizerische, noch das Rheinische, noch das Bayrisch-österreichische Mundarten-Lexikon haben den späten Buchstaben in Angriff genommen. Für das Schwäbische ist *Wunne* erschöpfend behandelt in Fischers *Schwäbischem Wörterbuch* VI (1924), 954 f., wodurch die Ausführungen Götzes im *Grimmschen Wörterbuch* XIV, I (1915) 550, (Lemma: *Weide*) weitgehend überholt sind. Götze selbst scheint der gleichen Ansicht. Denn während er als Bearbeiter des *Grimmschen Wörterbuchs* der Auffassung Braunes (*Beiträge* XIV [1889], 370 folgt,² tilgt er in seiner Bearbeitung von Kluges *Etymologischem Wörterbuch* (1934), 698 die in allen zehn Auflagen von 1883-1924 wieder und wieder gemachte Feststellung Kluges: "Man hält ahd. *winna* 'Weideland' für eins mit *Wonne*; doch hat jenes mit got. *winja* seine eigene Wortgeschichte." und ersetzt sie durch den Satz: "Wohl als landwirtschaftliches Fachwort hat sich *Wonne* aus 'Lust' zu 'Weideplatz' entwickelt in got. *winja*, anord. *vin*, ahd. *winne*, ablautehd. *wunnja*, mhd. *wünne* 'Weideland.'" Eine solche Entwicklung rechnet mehr mit nomadischen als mit seßhaft bäuerlichen Verhältnissen und kann daher nur bedingt befriedigen.

Es scheint mir methodologisch erforderlich, das Wort *winna* von dem Bestandteil der Rechtsformel *wunne und weide* scharf zu trennen. Wie so häufig in der juristischen Terminologie des deutschen Altertums ist *wunne und weide* eine tautologische Alliteration (vgl. Grimm: *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer* [1828], 7. 13 ff.). Die den einen Begriff doppelnde Formel gibt ihr die rechtskräftige Prägung und macht sie verbindlich; ohne sie wäre sie null und nichtig. Diese altgermanische Rechtsformel lebt bis in die

² Grimm *Wtb.* XIV, I, 550: "Im deutschen ist *winne* (got. *winja*, anord. *vin*. 'grasplatz') schon seit dem anfang des 9. jarh. auszer gebrauch gekommen. in unserer formel wurde es, wie in *winnemânôth* unter dem einfluss von *wonne* umgebildet."

neuere Zeit, wie die Mundarten-Wörterbücher von Schmeller bis Fischer reichlich beweisen. Neulich ist sie mir aufgestossen in einem Thurgauer Mandat vom November 1530 (*Abschiede* iv 1b, 849): "Ordnung und Satzung, wie sich gemeine Landschaft Thurgöw der christlichen Reformation . . . glychförmig gemachet," wo unter den Strafen für Verletzung der Kirchengebote Ausschuß von *Wun und Weid* genannt ist. So zähe *Wunne* sich im alten Rechtsbegriff erhalten hat, so schwächlich war es als separates Wort, wo es nur im Kompositum *Wonnemonat* fortwest, ohne noch verstanden zu werden. Da erlag es der Sinnes-Kontamination mit *Wonne*.

Die Veränderung von *winnemânôth* in *wunnimânôth* mag durch das Übergreifen eines zu benachbarten Bedeutungsfeldes begünstigt gewesen sein, obwohl man angesichts von Schreibungen wie *uwinnisamit* für *uwunnisamit* oder *uwinse* statt *uunse* (vgl. Baesecke: *Einführung in das Althochdeutsche*. [1918], 284) nicht mit weit hergeholten Erklärungen zu operieren braucht. Wenn Braune seine Ausführungen über *winne* und *wunne* (a. a. o. 371) damit abschließt, die Überführung der *i* in die *u*-Form "konnte eben nur durch die Volksetymologie geschehen, rein lautlich ist sie unmöglich," so hat er an die geläufigste Ablautreihe nicht gedacht (*Findelkind—Fundgrube; Bund—Angebinde*), was bei einem Gelehrten seines Ranges etwas Rührendes hat.

Tatsache ist, daß ahd. *winna* schon im 9. Jh. so sehr ausser Gebrauch ist, daß die Abschreiber von Glossen es durch andere Zusätze erläutern. Um 1000 kann es als ausgestorben gelten. Das Weiterleben von *winna* in der Rechts-Tautologie erklärt sich aus der Festigkeit alliterierender Rechtsformeln, wobei wir nur zu erklären hätten, wieso dieses *winna* denn ganz den gleichen Weg zu *wunne* zurücklegt wie das gewöhnliche Wort *Wonne*, mit dem es doch nichts zu tun hat.

Bei Graff (*Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz* II [1836], 796), Schade (*Althochdeutsches Wörterbuch* II [1872/1882], 1212) erscheint das erste Glied der Formel immer als *wunna*, und als *wunne*, *wünne* überdauert es unverändert die Jahrhunderte. Die Form *wonne* ist vor allem mitteldeutsch; das Wort geht in seinen Lautformen mit *Wonne* absolut parallel, ohne daß die Bedeutung je kontaminiert. Fischer belegt noch aus dem 17. Jh. die Wendung *Wun und Waid, Trib und Trat*, lateinisch *apricus* wird wiedergegeben als *wonnesam*, woraus sich die Bedeutung einer trockenen Hochtrift für *wonne* ergibt. Petri erzählt in seiner Chronik aus

dem Anfang des 17. Jh. *Der Stadt Mühlhausen Geschichten*: "Die Statt Mühlhaussen hat im jahr 1437 von Grave Ludwigen vnnd Ulrichen . . . die zwey dörffere Iltzach vnnd Motenheim mit hohen vnnd nideren gericht, zwingen, bannen, wunnen, wäiden . . . an sich erkaufft vnnd bezahlt" (Entnommen aus Martin-Lienhart: *Wtb. d. elsäss. Mundarten* II [1907], 832).

Der Übergang einer Bedeutung *Weide* in die andere *Wonne* hat überall hier noch nach 1600 absolut *nicht* stattgefunden; er ist nachweisbar nur für ein so wenig in das gesprochene Deutsch gedrungene Wort wie *winnimânôth*, das offenbar erst durch die karolingische Namensreform geschaffen wurde. Gegen die These von der Berührung mit *Wonne* lassen sich auch späte Entstellungen von *wun* und *weide* in *wohn* und *weidt* oder *wund-waid* (*Grimms Wörterbuch* a. a. o. 550) anführen, die für die unverstandene Wendung überall sonst Anlehnungen versuchen, nur grade *nicht* an *Wonne*.

Mit Braune glaube ich daher, daß wir es mit zwei Worten zu tun haben, das eine auf *winja* zurückgehend, das andere mit Schwundstufen-Vokalismus *wunja*. Gegen Braune glaube ich nicht an ihre Bedeutungs-Verschiedenheit: Das erstere war schon im Ahd. veraltet, die Schwundstufen-form aber erhielt sich in dem juristischen Terminus als *wun(ne)*, *wün(ne)*. Sie hat nichts zu tun mit einem dritten Wort *wunnia*, *wunna*, über dessen Stamm sich nichts aussagen läßt.

Neben bekannten, vornehmlich alemannischen Zeugnissen für *wun* und *wünne* ist das Eiderstedter Idiom ein neuer Zeuge aus Schleswig; womit die von Schiller-Lübben im *Mittelniederdeutschen Wörterbuch* v (1880), 789 ausgesprochene Vermutung, *wun(ne)* sei "wol nur hochdeutsch," hinfällig geworden ist.

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LA PREMIÈRE RELATION INTELLECTUELLE DE DAVID HUME EN FRANCE: UNE CONJECTURE.

L'éditeur de la Correspondance de David Hume ne jette-t-il pas un peu vite, comme on dit, "le manche après la cognée," quand il mentionne l'abbé Pluche comme le Français important que l'aveide

Ecossais se proposait de voir familièrement à Reims, lors de sa première installation en France? Il se hâte d'ailleurs d'ajouter que l'auteur du *Spectacle de la Nature* avait quitté dès avant 1734 l'université et la ville de Reims, mais ajoute loyalement: "Je n'ai pas d'autre nom de rechange."¹

Reprenons les termes des deux lettres connues par lesquelles, le 12 septembre 1734, notre voyageur (qui ne fait d'ailleurs qu'une faible allusion à l'université rémoise) mentionne les recommandations qui lui rendent agréables ses premiers contacts avec deux familles (pour commencer) dans une ville où le souvenir des Ecossais Colbert ouvrait sans doute bien des portes à un jeune compatriote de ces immigrés d'antan:

These letters I got from the Chevalier Ramsay . . . I have another letter from him, which I have not yet delivered because the gentleman is not in town, tho' he will return in a few days. He is a man of considerable note, and as the Chevalier told me, one of the most learned in France. I promise myself abundance of pleasure from his conversation. I must likewise add, that he has a fine library, so that we shall have all advantages for study.

Avouons que si l'historigraphie britannique s'était décidée à faire enfin un sort à cet immense sujet, les *Menées stuartiennes au XVIIIe siècle*, rien ne serait plus aisé que de prendre texte des relations existant entre Bolingbroke, Stairs, Ramsay (né en Ayrshire, et décidément converti) pour préciser la part prise par ces trois personnages—tous mentionnés tôt ou tard parmi les références initiales de David—dans les "directives" données à un jeune homme désireux de frapper aux meilleures portes en un pays qu'il avait, à tous égards, à *découvrir*. Mais on peut dire que cette sorte de triangulation conduit inévitablement à un Rémois de marque: Louis-Jean Lévesque de Pouilly.

C'est à cet esprit distingué—le métaphysicien que Bolingbroke se piquait d'avoir découvert en même temps que Voltaire "le

¹ *The Letters of David Hume*, edited by J. Y. T. Greig. Oxford, 1932. I, 19, n. 3. La première suggestion vient de l'éditeur de 1846, J. H. Burton. Dans la biographie de Hume (London, 1931), p. 39, Greig s'était déjà posé la question, dont l'importance ne lui échappait nullement, surtout étant donné que le séjour de son personnage à Reims était évalué à *un an*, et que l'impression qu'il avait faite, à son passage à Paris, sur son bienveillant mais critique introducteur le Chevalier Ramsay était sa faiblesse en métaphysique et le manque d'une "base solide" dans son esprit.

poète"— que le noble exilé, vers 1720, avait adressé les lettres en français que devait recueillir, mises en anglais, l'édition des *Œuvres* de Bolingbroke de 1754 (tome III); c'est à lui que cette débordante personnalité avait pu dire: "You lead me first, in my retreat, to abstract philosophical reasoning." Et son mariage avec une Française de premier ordre avait plutôt renforcé une estime² dont il était naturel que l'on tint à faire éprouver les bienfaits à l'apprenti philosophe qui souhaitait si vivement tirer le meilleur parti de son séjour en France. Qu'était, de fait, l'abbé Pluche avec ses nomenclatures dévotieuses, à côté d'un homme à qui, de plus, les plus pratiques vertus administratives et civiques étaient reconnues, et qui, membre de l'Académie des Inscriptions, y avait publié de ces "doutes" sur l'histoire comme les éprouvaient précisément les esprits sincères de cette époque?

Lévesque de Pouilly, né en 1691, n'était guère plus rapproché d'âge que Pluche—né en 1688—pour une intimité constante avec Hume, qui est de 1711. Par surcroît, nommé en 1727 lieutenant-général du Présidial de Reims, Lévesque résidait de préférence à la campagne: ce qui explique qu'à un moment voisin des vendanges de 1734, Hume semble déçu de ne point trouver "en ville" un homme qui l'attirait, intellectuellement, à bon droit. Il n'est pas sûr que le jeune Ecossais de vingt-trois ans, quittant le logis de "M. Mesier au Perroquet Vert," ait pu s'installer tout près du maître espéré, ou même chez lui, comme il y avait peut-être compté, pour une docte utilisation de la riche bibliothèque et de son excellent propriétaire. Mais puisque Hume passe un an à Reims, avant d'aller à La Flèche sous les auspices, dirons-nous, de René Descartes, un apprentissage inévitable résulte d'une fréquentation sur laquelle on voudrait être complètement renseigné.³

L'innéité ou l'acquisition des idées, la sécurité de tel ou tel

² Cf. mon article sur Lady Bolingbroke dans la *Revue de Paris*, 15 septembre 1930 et dans *Etudes d'Histoire littéraire*, 3e série. Il va de soi que si, plus tard, Hume se montre fort dédaigneux pour la métaphysique trop "mondaine" de Bolingbroke, un avis ou une recommandation de cet homme d'Etat, en 1734, n'avait rien pour lui déplaire.

³ Les *Travaux de l'Académie de Reims* se sont à trois reprises occupés de l'enfant notable de la ville (1845, 1878, 1900), mais le point de vue philosophique n'est pas supposé dominant dans ces études d'érudition locale. Voy. aussi F. Baldensperger, "Voltaire anglophile avant son séjour en Angleterre." *RLC.*, IX (1929), 42.

témoignage sur le monde extérieur, la part des sentiments affectifs dans l'élaboration de tout système intellectuel: ce sont là des problèmes qui, impliqués plus ou moins directement dans le *Treatise of human Nature* de 1739, étaient de l'ordre le plus familier à Lévesque de Pouilly: sa *Théorie des Sentiments agréables*, résidu assez partiel d'un effort métaphysique important et de méditations commencées par une des premières explications françaises des *Principes* de Newton, devait paraître d'abord à Bruxelles en 1736, avant d'être rééditée un petit nombre de fois.⁴ Sans doute une discussion orale des points envisagés y ajoutait-elle ce que les contemporains attribuaient au Rémois, et ce que le Chevalier Ramsay trouvait déficient chez l'Ecoissais entrevu à Paris au passage: la souplesse dialectique et le sens métaphysique. Mais que l'année passée à Reims dans cet encourageant voisinage ait eu son importance, voilà qui ne semble pas douteux.

"First at Reims, but chiefly at La Flèche in Anjou, I composed my *Treatise of human Nature*": c'est ainsi que l'autobiographie "situe" la composition de sa première grande œuvre; ce serait donc à nos amis du *Journal of the History of Ideas* à vérifier si la genèse, à défaut de la rédaction, n'a pas quelque obligation à un "métaphysicien" trop oublié d'une France de transition.

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AN EARLY MANUSCRIPT TRANSLATION OF ROUSSEAU'S SECOND DISCOURS

It was not until the summer of 1763 that Rousseau's revolutionary *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* (1755) became, according to Boswell, a "fashionable topick" in England; but evidence has been presented elsewhere that English readers felt its impact almost immediately after its original publication. One specific reference before 1756 establishes, for instance, the possibility

⁴ "Où l'on établit les principes de la morale" est le sous-titre un peu ambitieux de l'une de ces rééditions, publiée trois ans avant la mort de l'auteur en 1750.

(strengthened by other evidence, mostly internal) that the irony of Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society* (1756) was directed at the *Discours* as well as at Bolingbroke; and three other references toward the end of the decade of the fifties support the notion that Dr. Johnson had the *Discours* in mind when he burlesqued in *Rasselas* (1759) prevalent ideas of the state of nature.¹

Thus, peculiar interest is attached to further indication that the *Discours* found readers in England before the appearance of the translation in January, 1762. This has recently come to light in the shape of a finely-wrought manuscript translation of the *Discours*, now in the Yale University Library, by John Farrington, of Clapham. The translation, dated 1756, differs from the version of 1762, published by the Dodsleys, and apparently never found its way into print. It is written in Farrington's own hand² and is complete with Dedication, Preface, and Notes.

In 1860, a correspondent to *Notes and Queries*³ wrote of a quarto manuscript in his possession entitled *Critical and Moral Dissertations on divers Passages of Scripture, collected and translated from Forreign [sic] Journals*. By John Farrington of Clapham; and asked "who was this John Farrington." But aside from a meagre note on the date of Farrington's death, the editor was of little help; and subsequent readers of *Notes and Queries* have added nothing. Indeed, so little is known about Farrington that the outlines of his career, how he came by the *Discours* or what led him to translate it, must be conjectured from only a few scattered bits of information.

We know, at least, that Farrington lived in Clapham, near London, was known as an "eminent merchant,"⁴ and died there

¹ The reception of the *Discours* in England has been considered by James H. Warner, "The Reaction in Eighteenth-Century England to Rousseau's Second *Discours*," *PMLA*, XLVII (1933), 478 ff.; and in my article, "Rousseau's Second Discourse in England from 1755 to 1762," *PQ*, XVII (1938), 97-114, where the early references (by Adam Smith, Benjamin Stillingfleet, William Kenrick, and Oliver Goldsmith) to the *Discours*, as well as its possible bearing upon Burke's *Vindication* and Johnson's *Rasselas*, are discussed in detail. For Boswell's comment on the *Discours* as a "fashionable topick" see *Life of Johnson*, ed. Hill-Powell, I, 439 (July 20, 1763).

² I am indebted for this information to Mr. C. A. Stonehill, who in 1934 purchased Farrington's literary remains *en bloc*. For a description of some of these, see his catalogue No. 125 (1934), items 58 and 59.

³ Second Series, IX (March 3, 1860), 163.

⁴ He is so described in a one-line obituary notice in *London Mag.*, XXIX (1760), 324.

in 1760 at the age of seventy-six. Apparently he busied himself with various intellectual avocations, scientific and literary, among which was an interest in foreign literature and in the work of translation. But only one of his undertakings, it seems, resulted in publication. This was a translation of Abbé Vertot's *L'origine de la grandeur de la cour de Rome*, published by the Dodsleys on November 25, 1754.⁵ Perhaps this success led him to translate the *Discours* a year or so later. But whether the Dodsleys were dissatisfied with the result, or considered Rousseau at that time too obscure an author to warrant the risk, they did not venture a translation of the *Discours* until *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) had established Rousseau's fame beyond question.

We can only conclude that Farrington was one of the wealthy London merchants established at Clapham (a town "much frequented by Nonconformists from the middle of the 17th century onwards"⁶), the fathers of the later group of philanthropists and evangelicals known as The Clapham Sect. Apparently he was distinguished from his immediate circle only by his literary proclivities, which led him, perhaps more by chance than design, to become the first translator into English of one of the most provocative essays of the last half of the century.

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POE, CRITIC OF VOLTAIRE

In August, 1836, Poe's "Pinakidia" was published in the *Southern Literary Messenger*. In this collection of facts and notations appears the following statement:

In Voltaire's scruples about unity of place he has committed a thousand blunders. In the *Mort de César* the scene is in the capitol, but the people seem not to know their precise situation. On one occasion Caesar exclaims, "Courons au Capitole!"¹

⁵ See Ralph Straus, *Robert Dodsley* (London and New York, 1910), 352. The publication was noted in *Gent. Mag.*, xxiv (Dec. 1754), 582; and in *London Mag.*, xxiii (Nov. 1754), 526.

⁶ Cassell's *Gazeteer of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1895), II, 35.

¹ In *The Complete Works of Edgar Allen Poe*, ed. James A. Harrison (New York n. d.), xiv, 63.

Poe makes the same accusation in *The Broadway Journal* a few years later, this time not only against Voltaire but against European drama in general. Here he says:

It would sometime puzzle an European stage hero in no little degree to tell an audience where he has arrived. Most of them seem to have a very imperfect conception of their whereabouts. In the *Mort de César*, for example, Voltaire makes his populace rush to and fro exclaiming, "Courons au Capitole!" Poor fellows—they are in the capitol all the time;—in his scruples about unity of place, the author has never once let them out of it.²

These statements show one obvious variation. Is it Caesar or the populace who "exclaims," "Courons au Capitole?" As a matter of fact, it is neither. The half-line, used only once in the play, is part of a speech by Cassius in the fourth scene of Voltaire's second act. And it is not an exclamation but, on the contrary, a rather dignified suggestion. Poe was certainly trusting to his memory, as he so often did when making quotations.³

A more important error, however, is the accusation concerning the unity of place. It is true that Voltaire says that the scene of *la Mort de César* is "à Rome, au Capitole," and nothing more; but Poe's conception of what is meant by "Capitole" is wrong. Voltaire, like many others before him, including the Romans themselves, used the word with a double meaning.

The French *Capitole*—from which the English word *capitol* is taken—was derived from, and means the same thing as the Latin *Capitolium*. The Capitolium was originally the south promontory of the double-summitted Capitoline Hill. On the Capitolium was the chief building of all Rome, the Temple of Jupiter. The northern promontory of the hill, known as the Arx, supported the famous citadel. By the end of the period of the republic, the importance of the citadel had decreased to such an extent that the word Capitolium was used to designate the entire hill, that is, both summits. Correspondingly, since the Temple of Jupiter was the most important edifice of Rome and therefore the most important part of the entire Hill, it too came to be known as the Capitolium.⁴

² *Ibid.*, xvi, 68.

³ Cf. James A. Harris, "Introduction" to Poe's *Essays and Miscellanies*, in *The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, xiv, vi, for corroboration of this statement.

⁴ Cf. any authority on the topography and buildings of Rome, but especially Samuel Ball Platner, *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* (Boston, 1911).

Voltaire was familiar with this double use of the word. In the first part of the fourth scene of Act II, Casca narrates to Brutus and Cassius the story of how Caesar refused the crown proffered by Antony. According to Casca, the refusal took place at the Temple of Jupiter, some distance away, for he says:

César était au temple, et cette fière idole
Semblait être le dieu qui tonne au Capitole.⁵

Later Casca tells us that when Caesar had finished refusing Antony's offer, "Il sort du Capitole avec un front sévère."⁶

In these lines, Casca, standing at some distance from the Temple of Jupiter, speaks of that temple as the Capitol. It is this same temple, then, to which Cassius is referring a few lines farther on when he suggests to the little band of conspirators, "Courons au Capitole."

As for the real setting of *La Mort de César*, one can infer from the facts presented that it is somewhere on the hill called the "Capitole," not far from the temple called the "Capitole." Apparently the scene is somewhat similar to that of *Brutus*, a play written by Voltaire only a few years earlier. Here, the action takes place on the Tarpeian Rock, in front of the Temple, and one can see that imposing structure in the background.

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AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF ERNEST RENAN

The late E. P. Dargan mentioned in his study on Anatole France a letter from Renan to France that is to be found in the Manuscript Room of the Bibliothèque Nationale.¹ When working there in 1937 on some problems relating to Anatole France, I had occasion to copy the letter. As a result of some correspondence I had with Dargan on this matter before his death, I feel that it would be of interest to publish the document, for it does indicate to some extent the relationship between Renan and Anatole France.

The fact that Renan influenced France is well established, al-

⁵ Lines 4-5.

⁶ Line 37.

¹ *Anatole France, 1844-1896* (New York, 1937), "Appendix E," 620 ff.

though a full study on the matter would be most welcome. A related problem is that of determining how well France came to know the author of *La Vie de Jésus*. Le Goff reported that France said at one time, "J'ai bien connu Renan."² When Ségur asked him, "Vous avez beaucoup connu Renan?" the reply was, "On ne connaissait pas Renan, il était trop poli, absent. Pourtant je l'ai vu souvent."³

Renan and France first met in 1886 at the home of Madame Aubernon, and Dargan thought that Anatole "imbibed something of that 'characteristic inconsequence'" either from the *conversazioni* held there or from Renan himself.⁴ The two met frequently at Madame de Caillavet's later.⁵

Barrès wrote, "France est fait de Voltaire, Renan, et Gautier (ou Gérard de Nerval, c'est le même groupe)."⁶ France was not the historian that Renan showed himself to be, but Anatole tried to ape his master's genial ways.⁷ On the other hand, Barrès said, "Il [France] est choqué du côté rondouillard de Renan, et que Renan ait dit 'Voltaire suffit, roué est de trop.'"⁸

There is much evidence in Anatole's writings of the influence of Renan. It is apparent in his style.⁹ Certain tirades and some of the Biblical language in *Thaïs* may be traced to Renan.¹⁰ The similarities between Renan's *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse* (1883) and France's *Le Livre de mon ami* (1885)¹¹ are easily seen. The character of Renan is perhaps meant to be glimpsed in the neophyte Firmin Piédagnel in *L'Orme du mail* (1896).¹² Renan's account of his three weeks in Sicily appears to have given rise to

² Anatole France à la Béchellerie. *Propos et souvenirs, 1914-1924* (Paris, 1924), 75.

³ Ségur, Nicolas. *Conversations avec Anatole France* (Paris, 1925), 123. Dargan says that Anatole France was sometimes referred to as 'Mlle Renan.' (*Op. cit.*, 620.) Woodbridge reports too that Barrès had been called 'Mlle Renan.' (*MLN*, XL (Jan. 1925), 15.)

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 225.

⁵ Renan, *Correspondance*, II (1928), 329.

⁶ *Mes Cahiers 1909-1911*, VIII (Paris, 1934), 269.

⁷ Dargan, *op. cit.*, 374.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, 1904-1906, IV (Paris, 1931), 269. Ségur reports that Anatole France was pushed into historical studies by Renan, who had little use for literature. (*Op. cit.*, 123.)

⁹ Doumic, R. *RDM* (Dec. 15, 1896), 924-934.

¹⁰ Dargan, *op. cit.*, 450.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 256, 294.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

part of *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* (1881),¹³ while sincere tribute to Renan is evidenced in the writing of France's *Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* (1908), "whose method imitates that of the author of the *Vie de Jésus*."¹⁴

In a folio in the Bibliothèque Nationale¹⁵ there are interesting notes indicating the genesis of "Gallion," the story which constitutes the second chapter of *Sur la pierre blanche* (1905). I propose to present these notes fully in a later study, but I might remark in the present connection that France listed there five or six borrowings from Renan.¹⁶

Renan's letter to Anatole France, dated December 28, 1891, constitutes further proof of the warm feeling that existed between the two writers:

Paris, 28 décembre, 1891

Oh! la jolie lettre, cher ami! Ma femme et moi, nous en avons été ravis. Qu'on est heureux de se voir si bien compris, si indulgemment aimé. Il faudra qu'en cette année 1892 vous veniez nous voir en Bretagne. Je vous montrerai combien vous avez raison, combien la couche du christianisme est mince, combien le paganisme naturaliste est là, vivant, seul vivant. Nous ferons des courses avec Luzel [?];¹⁷ nous irons voir les villages perdus où il y a des restes de populations pré-celtiques. Vous viendrez sûrement. Croyez, en attendant, à la grande joie que vous nous avez causée ce soir. Vous avez été notre apparition de Noël. Nous vous avons lu avec attendrissement.

Votre bien bon ami

E. Renan

Et votre Lamia. Quel petit chef-d'œuvre! Je crois que c'est ce que vous avez écrit de plus profond. La fin surtout est admirable.¹⁸

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 252.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 294 and note 8.

¹⁵ *Nouvelles Acquisitions françaises* #10805, Folio 46.

¹⁶ One of the main influences from Renan is evidenced in France's many (and varying) remarks on science. From time to time he pays tribute to Renan's *L'Avenir de la science* (written in 1848, but not published until 1890); see, for example "Discours prononcé à l'inauguration de la statue d'Ernest Renan, à Tréguier, le 13 septembre 1903," *Vers les Temps meilleurs*, II (Paris, 1906), 33-57; or Ségur, *Dernières Conversations avec Anatole France* (Paris, 1927), 18 ff. and 160 ff. For France's own ideas on science, see Mornet, "M. Anatole France et la science," *Revue du mois* (July 10, 1911), 60-76; and Craig, "Anatole France and the Development of His Ideas concerning Science," *The Modern Language Forum*, XXII (Dec., 1937), 200-213.

¹⁷ Renan's handwriting is difficult to read at this point; the proper name may read either "Luzel" or "Suzel."

¹⁸ *Nouvelles Acquisitions françaises* #10805, Folio 40.

Anatole France did not reach Renan's home in Brittany, for unhappily Renan died in October of the following year.

By "Lamia" Renan referred to the main character in *Le Procureur de Judée*. Lamia talked with his friend Pontius Pilate years after the crucifixion of Christ, and the last line of the dialogue revealed the fact that Pilate, at the end of a long and eventful career, had completely forgotten the Jew named Jesus. Professor Woodbridge pointed out some time ago that Anatole France undoubtedly got the idea for the story from Renan's "Les Apôtres," the second volume of the *Origines du Christianisme*.¹⁹

Anatole's story first appeared in *Le Temps* on December 25, 1891, as the "Conte pour le jour de Noël." Later in the following year it was republished in France's *L'Etui de nacre*, a collection of his tales. It is interesting to note that Renan termed the story a little masterpiece, a correct estimate from one who professed to dislike literary matters.

Renan naturally agreed with France's approach in the story, perhaps not realizing the extent of his influence on the versatile Anatole. But should we go so far as to say, as does Professor Chevalier, that without Renan Anatole France is inconceivable?²⁰ The question is indeed still open to debate.

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KLEIST'S "ERFINDUNG"

"Hier tritt Shakespeare einzig hervor, indem er das Alte und Neue auf eine überschwengliche Weise verbindet," says Goethe, speaking of the contrast "Antik" and "Modern."¹

As Shakespeare had done instinctively, so Schiller did intentionally; since *Don Carlos*, certainly since *Wallenstein*, he tried to combine the dramatics of the Ancients and the Moderns, of Sophocles and Shakespeare.

¹⁹ "The Original Inspiration of *Le Procureur de Judée*," *MLN*, XL (Dec. 1925), 483-485.

²⁰ *The Ironic Temper: Anatole France and His Time* (New York, 1932).

¹ Goethe, *Shakespeare und kein Ende*, II.

Kleist would have attempted nothing new, had he tried to fuse Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Shakespeare. Actually, the often repeated assertion that such was Kleist's endeavor is only a misunderstanding of Wieland's letter to Dr. Wedekind (4/10/1804). Wieland only says that the beginning of *Guiskard* impressed him as such a synthesis, not that Kleist was striving after such a synthesis.²

The mysterious "Erfindung" of Kleist has been interpreted in a more definite way by Julius Petersen,³ perhaps in a too definite way when he assumes that Kleist anticipated "Richard Wagners Technik des musikalischen Erinnerungsmotivs." But the more general interpretation, "daß Dynamik, Führung und Aufbau des Ganzen durch musikalische Gesetze bestimmt werden sollen," is the most plausible suggestion advanced for this problem.

That in the same year (1803) when Kleist wrote of his "Erfindung," Hölderlin seems to have been occupied with very similar reflections does not simplify the problem:

Es wird gut sein . . . wenn man die Poesie . . . zur *mechane* der Alten erhebt. Auch andern Kunstwerken fehlt, mit den griechischen verglichen, die Zuverlässigkeit; wenigstens sind sie bis jetzt mehr nach den Eindrücken beurteilt worden, die sie machen, als nach ihrem gesetzlichen Kalkül und sonstiger Verfahrungsart, wodurch das Schöne hervorgebracht wird. Der modernen Poesie fehlt es aber besonders an der Schule und am Handwerksmäßigen, daß nämlich ihre Verfahrungsart berechnet . . . und wenn sie gelernt ist, immer zuverlässig wiederholt werden kann.⁴

Hölderlin wrote this as a note to *Oedipus Rex*, and coincidentally, "from June 18 to July 15, 1803, Kleist borrowed a translation of *Oedipus Rex* from the Dresden Library."⁵

I do not venture to infer more than that Kleist's "Erfindung" was also a *mechane*, a *technique*. That it was a musical technique is not contradicted by any of the following statements, while it is almost asserted by the last, inclusive statement covering all the others:

(10/10/1801) "Ich habe mir . . . in einsamer Stunde ein Ideal ausgearbeitet . . ."

² Cp. "To Kleist is attributed as a deliberate aim what he has nowhere said of himself and only Wieland once stated as his private opinion." W. Silz, "On *Homburg* and the Death of Kleist," *Monatshefte* (1940), 325.

³ J. Petersen, "Kleists dramatische Kunst," *Kleist-Jahrbuch* 1921, p. 15.

⁴ Hölderlin, Anmerkungen zu seiner Übertragung des "Ödipus" (*Werke*, im Tempelverlag, III, 191).

⁵ J. C. Blankenagel, *The Dramas of H. v. Kleist* (1931), 70.

(7/3/1803) ". . . bis ich eine gewisse Entdeckung im Gebiete der Kunst . . . völlig sicher gestellt habe."

(10/5/1803) "Denn in der Reihe der menschlichen Erfindungen ist diejenige, die ich gedacht habe, unfehlbar ein Glied."

(Juli 1805 *) "Ja er hat die ganze Finesse, die den Dichter ausmacht, und kann auch das sagen, was er nicht sagt."

(2/14/1808) "Doch in der Kunst kommt es überall auf die Form an."

(August?, 1811) "Ich betrachte diese Kunst . . . als die algebraische Formel aller übrigen, und . . . so habe ich von meiner frühesten Jugend an alles Allgemeine, was ich über die Dichtkunst gedacht habe, auf Töne bezogen. Ich glaube, daß im Generalbaß die wichtigsten Aufschlüsse über die Dichtkunst enthalten sind."

The most cautious assumption would be that "Generalbaß" is to be taken in the widest sense. *Concise Oxford Dictionary*: "thorough-bass . . . hence, theory of harmony." "thorough-bass . . . (loosely) harmonic composition."

The next step towards determining Kleist's musical composition is done by contrasting his plays with others, especially Schiller's. The key drama, *Guiskard*, is a fragment. One must operate with the working hypothesis that *Penthesilea* comes next to the intended structure of *Guiskard*. "Ich habe eine Tragödie (Sie wissen, wie ich mich damit gequält habe) von der Brust herunter gehustet. . . . In Kurzem soll auch der Robert Guiskard folgen; und ich überlasse es Ihnen mir alsdann zu sagen, welches von beiden besser sei; denn ich weiss es nicht" (to Wieland, 12/17/1807). On the other hand, there is an obvious resemblance in form between the tragedy, *Penthesilea*, and the comedy, *Der Zerbrochene Krug*. The two dramas (and the fragment, as far as it goes) have an uninterrupted action; they arrive at a quick climax; the middle of the drama is calm and lyrical; the last third of the drama is violent movement (not for the eye, but through the ear for the mind's eye). A tentative conclusion would be, therefore, that Kleist's "Erfindung" was the application to dramatics of a basic musical form: the usual succession Allegretto-Adagio-Presto of the classical sonata, the concerto, and the original symphony.

(Even for the repetition of scenes in *Homburg*, there is no need to look toward Wagner. Every movement of a "regular" sonata or symphony ends with the re-statement of the initial theme.)

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* To Pfuel, *Werke*, ed. E. Schmidt, v, 321.

BEOWULF AND GRENDEL'S MOTHER
TWO MINOR PARALLELS FROM FOLKLORE

The two Polynesian folktales summarized below contain several details conspicuously close to incidents in the tale of Beowulf's fight with Grendel's mother in the submarine *hrofsele*. The tales have not been used in any discussion of the *Beowulf* poem and they deserve at least passing attention from students of the OE epic. They may provide some additional material for the professional folklorist, in whose hands surely lies what study is still to be made upon the supernatural and fabulous elements of the poem. The two tales are retold from the account by Johannes C. Andersen, *Myths and Legends of the Polynesians* (London, 1928), pp. 139 ff. and 263 ff. respectively.

1. *Pitaka and Peke-haua* (Maori).—Maori traditions contain several stories involving the destruction of a man-eating monster (*taniwha*) which has caused terror by its ravages. The tale of Pitaka is especially close to the Grendel incidents in *Beowulf*. A fierce *taniwha* was causing havoc in the Rotorua district (North Island, New Zealand), until a band of 170 warriors gathered, set on its destruction; bravely they marched to its haunt and ingeniously snared it with ropes. Reports of a second *taniwha*, named Peke-haua, now reached these victorious heroes, and they at once marched on to its lair. This was a deep water-hole called Te Waro-uri at Te Awa-hou in the district of Waikato and Pa-telere. The warriors constructed water-traps of basket-work pattern, and elected one of their number, Pitaka, "a fearless and courageous man," to descend into the chasm and ensnare the evil monster. Pitaka took up a large stone and with some comrades dived into the water-hole with the snare; the others stayed round the edge reciting various charms and spells to arrest the monster's powers. Pitaka reached the floor of the chasm and was able to coax and then ensnare the *taniwha*, which was already much pacified by the charms and spells. So hero, monster, snare and all were safely hauled to the surface. The slain monster's belly when cut open was found to contain a quantity of jewels, armor and clothing.

2. *Aia'i and the Eel* (Hawaiian).—In this legend Ku-ula the Hawaiian god of fishermen and his wife, goddess of fishes, made their abode on the island of Maui, one of the Hawaiian group.

Their son was the hero Aiai-a-Ku-ula. A giant eel named Koonā (in other versions Tuna) came to dwell nearby, in the ocean-cave Kapukaulua, intending to prey upon the fish-pond of Ku-ula. Its depredations were disastrous; and Ku-ula entrusted to his son the task of destroying the plunderer. Aiai' put out to sea and when he found in the water signs of the eel's lair below, took a stone and dived to the bottom. There he found an ocean-cave around the entrance to which swam many deep-sea fishes. Reaching into the cave he was able to hook the eel and be pulled safely to the surface again; he returned to the shore towing the dead ravager.

These two slight tales, collected from widespread parts of the Polynesian world, are close enough in details to suggest the existence of many other legends about heroes who engage in reckless submarine contest against some vague but fearsome monster. There is no involved mythological consideration to disentangle in them: it is obvious that the monsters were no more than large predatory sea-animals, some species of giant lizard or possibly an alligator in the first tale, and a giant eel in the second. No such forthright explanation would suffice for the Grendel race in the *Beowulf* epic. But the basic incident in all three is suggestively close: a brave hero elects to undergo a fierce struggle with an awesome monster which lurks in some dim lair far below the water's surface; from this the hero emerges victorious, bringing away in token of his prowess the dead creature (or some part of it: the head of Grendel in *Beowulf*). Pitaka's willingness to undertake a second contest with monsters is an obvious further parallel to the conduct of the hero *Beowulf*.

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G. H. CALVERT'S TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GERMAN

George Henry Calvert (1803-1889) ¹ is credited in B. Q. Morgan, *A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation* ² with a translation of Schiller's *Jungfrau von Orleans* (Nos. 8012 and 8013), as well as of *Don Carlos* (No. 8077) and of the

¹ For accounts of Calvert's life see the *Dictionary of American Biography* and E. A. and G. L. Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, II, 372.

² Second edition, Stanford University Press, 1938.

Correspondence between Goethe and Schiller (No. 3034). Calvert's *Maid of Orleans* is, however, an original poetic drama,³ first printed privately in Cambridge (Mass.) at the Riverside Press in 1873, and published with some changes in the following year by Putnam in New York. In making the character and story of Joan of Arc a vehicle for noble sentiments, Calvert does indeed follow in the footsteps of Schiller rather than Voltaire, but in details of plot, characters, and language, his *Maid* is independent of *Die Jungfrau*. His *Don Carlos*, on the other hand, is a translation of Schiller which has the fault of all too close adherence to German idiom.

A few short or fragmentary translations by Calvert are not listed by Morgan. In *A Volume from the Life of Herbert Barclay* (Baltimore, 1833) are to be found (pp. 167 ff.) some "Translations from Goethe's *Faust*": "Prologue in Heaven, Hymn of Angels," and "From the Garden Scene." The verses from the Garden Scene are *Faust's* famous credo (Part I, lines 3433-3459). According to an accompanying note, "both of these translations were published in this country in the year 1830," but the place of earlier publication is not indicated. Somewhat revised, these translations reappeared in Calvert's *Miscellany of Verse and Prose* (Baltimore, 1840) along with "From Schiller: The German Muse," a translation of *Die deutsche Muse*. Finally, the passages from *Faust*, again revised, appeared together with several new ones in *Goethe: His Life and Works* (Boston and New York, 1872),⁴ The last named work also contains many translated quotations from Goethe's letters, diaries, and conversations, as well as translations of *Der untreue Knabe* (pp. 101-102), *Wandrer's Nachtlied I* (p. 149), *Gefunden* (p. 186), *Parabel*⁵ (pp. 194-195), and *Der Gott und die Bajadere* (pp. 271-273).⁶ Stanza xxiii of Calvert's *Cabiro, a Poem, Cantos I and II* (Baltimore, 1840) is a translation of Schiller's *Kolumbus*. In

³ Not to be confused with his narrative poem, *Joan of Arc*, privately printed in 1860 and published in Boston, 1883. See the *Catalogue of books in the Redwood Library bequeathed to the institution by George Henry Calvert, to which is prefixed a bibliography of Mr. Calvert's works* (Newport, R. I., printed for the Library, 1900).

⁴ Morgan, *Bibliography*, No. 2432.

⁵ Weimar ed., III, 173.

⁶ These translations of lyrics do not fall within the chronological limits of the study by Lucretia Van Tuyl Simmons, *Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation Prior to 1860*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, No. 6 (Madison, 1919).

Charlotte von Stein: a Memoir (Boston, 1877) there are copious extracts from Goethe's letters, and again (p. 200) the translation of *Gefunden*.

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KENELM DIGBY'S "THUSCAN VIRGIL"

Sir Kenelm Digby, in his *Observations upon Religio Medici* (sixth ed., 1685, p. 100), writes:

It is Love only that can give us *Heaven* upon Earth, as well as in Heaven; and bringeth us thither too: So that the *Thuscan Virgil* had reason to say,

—In alte dolcezze
Non si puo gioir, se non amando.

And this love must be employed upon the noblest and highest object; not terminated in our friends. . . .

Misled perhaps by the general tone of the context, Toynbee (*Dante in English Literature*, I, 134) comments that "the 'Thuscan Virgil' can hardly be other than Dante, but the passage quoted does not occur in Dante's works." Farinelli (*Dante in Spagna, Francia, Inghilterra, Germania*, 1922, p. 289) suspects that the Italian quotation does not exactly fit the context, but cannot identify it. He remarks:

Boccaccasca è in sostanza la citazione capricciosa, vagamente suggerita al Digby, se io non erro, da una sentenza di Dafne nell' "Aminta" del Tasso (II atto: "Che sol amando, uom sa che sia diletto") . . . E Tirso [*sic* for Tirsij] parla, a sua volta, delle "dolcezze d'amore."

Farinelli's intuition is at least partially justified, but an intermediary formulated the quotation in question. By "Thuscan" Digby seems to have meant merely a writer in Italian, and by "Virgil" an author of bucolic verse; his lines come neither from Dante nor Tasso, but from Guarini's *Pastor Fido* (V, 8 near end), where Ergasto says, in no neo-platonic accents, to Corisca:

Vo diritto diritto
A trovarmi una sposa,
Chè 'n sì alte dolcezze
Non si può ben gioir, se non amando.

CHANDLER B. BEALL

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REVIEWS

The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature. Edited by F. W. BATESON. 4 vols. New York: Macmillan and Cambridge University Press, 1941. Pp. xl + 912; xx + 1003; xxii + 1098; iv + 287. \$32.50.

Bibliography is a vital necessity to scholarship, recording its accomplishments and affording a sound and clearly defined base for progress. Each year its scope, intensity, and need increase; what was adequate yesterday proves insufficient today. In 1916 the bibliographies at the end of the chapters of *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, if not entirely satisfactory, were most useful and scholars have leaned heavily on them. Eight or more years ago, however, the need of something better began to be keenly felt, and the plan of *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* was conceived—at first merely as an effort to bring the original lists up to date, but soon expanded to construct an entirely new work far more comprehensive than any thing of the kind hitherto attempted. In the words of Mr. Bateson, the editor, his task was “to record as far as possible in chronological order, the authors, titles and editions, with relevant critical matter, of all the writings in book-form (whether in English or Latin) that can still be said to possess some literary interest, by natives of what is now the British Empire up to the year 1900.”

More than 200 scholars of international standing have compiled the work in three volumes of over 3000 double-columned pages with a fourth volume of 287 pages as an index. Basically, as it should be, the work is chronological in that Vol. I covers A. D. 600-1660; Vol. II, 1660-1800; and Vol. III, 1800-1900. Within, each of these periods is subdivided topically, e. g., Vol. III contains the following subdivisions: 1. Introduction, 2. Poetry, 3. Prose Fiction, 4. Drama, 5. Critical and Miscellaneous Prose, 6. Philosophy, History, Science and Other Forms of Learning, 7. Literature of the Dominions. With the exception of the first and last of these divisions, each is again divided chronologically into Early Nineteenth-Century, Mid-Nineteenth-Century, and Late Nineteenth-Century. In fact the division and classification in the work are carried to such an extreme as to be sometimes confusing. To use the work successfully, one must know exactly what he wants and then study the table of contents and index (not too helpful) closely. Even then he may miss much that he needs, for although most books have a major interest by which they are classified, they also have many important minor interests which may be in demand. Fewer subdivisions might cause the user of the Bibliography

to search through more items, but he might be amply repaid by finding more to his purpose. The topical arrangement within the major chronological divisions puts the temporal sequence sadly but not inconveniently out of joint. For instance, all the Jacobean and Caroline poets, including Milton, appear before Shakespeare; all the later Eighteenth-Century poets, before Bunyan; and Swinburne, before Maria Edgeworth.

The scope of the Bibliography is vast and coincides with the broadest possible definition of philology as the interpretation of literature by all fields of intellectual endeavor that can possibly give any assistance. Each year the bibliographers of special periods of literature are dipping more widely and deeply into collateral fields. The *CBEL* has gone far in the same direction, but not far enough; it may satisfy the specialist in its range but not in intensity which has no limitations short of completeness. Space will not permit the mere mention of all the related fields of study covered by *CBEL*. A few examples must suffice: book production and distribution, education, social background, history, philosophy, science, other forms of learning, travel, scholars, literary relations with the continent, newspapers and magazines, law, classical, Biblical, and oriental scholarship, etc. It is quite obvious that this work will be useful to students of branches of learning other than English literature. In the words of the Preface "no type of printed book, from the chapbook to the scientific treatise, from the collection of hymns to the gift book, from the school boy's 'crib' to the treatise on whist, has been altogether neglected."

The entries in *CBEL* are not of the kind to satisfy the professional bibliographer, who delights in reproducing the title-page exactly with all the details and peculiar features of a volume that enable the user of his bibliography to identify another copy of the work described if it is rare or likely to be forged. Some attempt has been made to reproduce the wording and spelling of the title-pages of the first editions, as also the original punctuation and capitalization of the older and more important books, but for the most part titles have been modernized and abbreviated. There is no attempt to name the publisher or give the size of the work. After the title only the date and sometimes the place of publication are given. The aim of the editor appears to have been to refer the reader to the greatest amount of material in the briefest manner. In many cases the user must still do a smart bit of hunting before locating his quarry.

Something of the thoroughness, proportion or lack of it in the work may be exhibited by listing the more important authors with the number of pages allotted to each: Shakespeare, 68; Chaucer, 41; Byron, 25; Dickens, 20; Defoe, 19; Swift, 15; S. Johnson, 15; Goldsmith, 14; Dryden, 13; Scott, 12; Pope, 11; Milton, 10; Coleridge, 8; Wordsworth, 7; Shelley, 6; Browning, 6; Keats, 4;

Spenser, 3. Aside from the first two, rank and merit has had very little to do with the figures. Popularity, as in the case of Byron and Goldsmith, has played a part, but much has depended on the diligence, thoroughness, and degree of selectivity employed by the individual bibliographer. From 1700 to 1800, 222 minor poets are listed with a total of 67 pages. In the same period 89 minor dramatists receive 36 pages. From 1800 to 1900, 320 minor poets receive 98 pages, and 203 minor writers of fiction occupy 106 pages. If these figures indicate nothing else they show plainly that the calm of oblivion has been much ruffled. From these lists many a graduate student will take a suggestion and endeavor to make the dead and forgotten live again.

In evaluating *CBEL*, the specialist looks at sections dealing with authors with whom he is particularly familiar and may thus judge the quality of the whole work on too narrow a basis. The present reviewer considers Byron and Coleridge well handled, but is disappointed with the treatment of Wordsworth, Browning, Southey, Thomas Moore, Spenser, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and the minor Jacobean dramatists. The attention paid to Australian, New Zealand, and Canadian literature is perfunctory. On the other hand some of the more general sections give us a broader view and a better basis of judging the work as a whole. The sections devoted to "Book Production and Distribution" and "Newspapers and Magazines" in the different periods are exceptionally good; the one on "Poetical Miscellanies, 1660-1800" cannot be praised too highly.

As might be expected much responsibility is frequently shifted to other bibliographies where they exist to lend aid, saving space but not the user's time and convenience. For instance, in the section devoted to Middle English Literature one is obliged to rely to a large extent on the previous excellent bibliographical work of J. E. Wells, A. H. Billings, L. A. Hibbard, and others. In passing we note what appears to be some lapses in this section; otherwise how explain the omission under Chaucer of Caxton's first edition of *The Canterbury Tales*, also of Wynkyn de Worde's, and the inclusion of Tyrwhitt's great edition only in the section on "Early Criticism and Scholarship"?

The acid test of *CBEL*, in accuracy of particulars can come only with long and careful use. In a rather casual manner the writer has noted some omissions that seem to him important, as for example: the early poem of Thomas Middleton, *The Ghost of Lucrece* (1600—rediscovered in 1920); under Magazines and Newspapers, *The Literary Phoenix*, Birmingham, 1829; J. Sheridan Knowles' *Alfred the Great*; or, *The Patriot King, an Historical Play*, 1831; C. S. Northup's article, "King Arthur, the Christ, and Some Others" in *Studies in Philology* in honor of Frederick Klaeber, Minneapolis, 1929; L. C. Karpinski's *History of*

Arithmetic, Chicago, 1925; L. N. Broughton's *The Wordsworth Collection* (an extensive bibliography), Ithaca, 1931; L. N. Broughton's *Wordsworth and Reed* (containing 22 letters by Wordsworth), Ithaca, 1933.

Minor slips and typographical errors are numerous. In I, 8, col. 2, for J. T. Dredge read J. I. Dredge; in I, 726, col. 2, for J. H. Wilson read H. Wilson; in I, 893, col. 1, John Ferguson's *Bibliographical Notes*, etc. was published in 1899 and not in 1897; in II, 87, col. 1, under Edwards, F. A. for July 4 read July 14 and add to the item several more references to *N. & Q.*; in II, 966, col. 1, for A. K. Anderson read A. R. Anderson; in III, 553, col. 2, instead of Yeats, W. B., "The Later Works of Fiona Macleod" read Macleod, F., "The Later Works of W. B. Yeats."

The first three volumes of *CBEL.*, we are informed, were finished in 1936, 1937, 1938 respectively, and it is evident that some contributors handed in their assignments still earlier. The completion of the Index and the publication of the entire work have been delayed by the war; thus the work was out of date before it appeared. The Index is quite inadequate for the complicated work it represents and should be revised and much enlarged in the near future. "As to the future," remarks the editor, "the *Annual Bibliography of English Literature . . .* will provide most valuable material for supplements to the *CBEL.* to be issued at suitable intervals." Alas! the *Annual Bibliography* is at a standstill with no way for its continuance in sight.

With all of its faults, and they are not a few, *CBEL.* is a monumental work and an absolutely necessary tool for every scholar in our language and literature.

L. N. BROUGHTON

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Wortindex zu Goethes Faust. By A. R. HOHLFELD, Emeritus Professor of German, University of Wisconsin; MARTIN JOOS, Lecturer in German, University of Toronto; W. F. TWADDELL, Professor of German, University of Wisconsin, Department of German. The University of Wisconsin, Madison. Copyright, 1940.

The editors call this work "erste Gesamtschau des Wortschatzes eines grossen deutschen Literaturwerkes unserer Zeit" (p. viii). It is to serve primarily linguistic purposes, especially linguistic statistics. The reader expects to find a complete collection of all the words in Goethe's *Faust*, but in spite of the statement just quoted and in spite of the title he is told that this is not the intention of the editors. They state in the preface: "Da unser

Wortindex die lückenlos zahlenmässige Übersicht bieten soll über das gesamte Wortmaterial eines in sich geschlossenen Werkes als eines einheitlichen sprachlichen Ablaufs, so schliesst diese Rücksicht wiederum alles aus, was nicht zum eigentlichen Text gehört, also die Namen der jeweils sprechenden Personen, Überschriften, Bühnenanweisungen, Varianten u. s. w." How the omission of words in the stage directions, titles and names can be reconciled with the assertion that this is a "Gesamtschau des Wortschatzes" of *Faust* is difficult to understand.

According to the editors the stage directions, titles and names do not belong "zum eigentlichen Text," but what would Goethe's *Faust* look like if it were edited with the omission of all stage directions, titles and names? To ask the question is to answer it. Such a *Faust* would cease to be "ein in sich geschlossenes Werk." It is a wholly unjustifiable view of stage directions, titles and names to assume that they can be separated from the rest of the drama. They are not accidental but form an organic part of every drama and nowhere more so than in Goethe's *Faust*, where much would remain obscure without stage directions, titles and names.

What is "ein einheitlicher sprachlicher Ablauf," a uniform or coherent linguistic flow and where does it originate? It cannot refer to the speeches of the *dramatis personae*, for the speeches of Gretchen, Helena, the witches and the Emperor are not connected with one another and are not uniform, "einheitlich," nor do they originate with these characters who are merely the creations of the poet's imagination. The source of this linguistic flow is Goethe and all uniformity and coherence are due to Goethe. But the stage directions, the titles and many names of the dramatic characters also emanate from Goethe and belong to the linguistic flow of the drama, i. e. of Goethe. Every part of the drama is a part of the linguistic flow emanating from Goethe. An index of words in *Faust* which differentiates between parts of the linguistic flow of the drama by excluding all words found only in the stage directions, titles or names can, by no stretch of the imagination, be called "Gesamtschau des Wortschatzes," *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust*. The title is a misnomer raising false hopes. To be in keeping with the facts, the title should have been "Wortindex zu Zueignung, den metrischen Zeilen und der Prosaszene in Goethe's Faust," clearly an impossible title, as it would seriously detract from the interest in the work.

In this connection the editors have been guilty of a strange inconsistency. They include in their Index the words of the *Zueignung*, implying thereby that it is a part of the "eigentliche Text" of the drama. But if any part of the drama can be dispensed with, it is this poem. It has no connection whatsoever with the drama or the action. It merely expresses Goethe's personal feelings and experiences while he was working on *Faust*. It is a super-imposed ornament, not a necessity. On the other hand, stage directions,

titles and names which form an organic and necessary part of the drama are non-existent so far as the *Wortindex* is concerned.

It must be a matter of great regret to every one interested in *Faust*, linguist or literary critic, that the adoption of a wholly arbitrary and indefensible method has prevented the editors from accomplishing what they had set out to do. The performance falls short of the promise. It is all the more regrettable as within the limits set by the editors for themselves the work has been done with the utmost care and thoroughness and is deserving of the highest praise. It seems to be as perfect as a work of this kind can be made perfect. So far as I can see, not one word has been omitted found in that part of the poem upon which the Index is based. I have noticed only one minor misprint, *Turkei* instead of *Türkei* on p. 131.

In reading over the stage directions, titles and names of Part I, I have found at least a hundred words which are not recorded in the Index, among them such characteristic words as Prolog 243, Heerscharen 243, Erzengel 350, gotisch 354, 6566, Makrokosmos 430, Erdgeist 460, unwillig 460, 522, Meerkatze 2337, 2532, Sternblume 3179, Spinnrad 3374, Zwinger 3587, Blumenkrug 3587, Mater dolorosa 3587, Walpurgisnachtstraum 4223, daherbrausen 4399, verhallend 4612.

We have a right to expect these words in a book that purports to give a "Gesamtschau des Wortschatzes" of Goethe's *Faust*. Erdgeist, Makrokosmos, Meerkatze are words intimately connected with the drama, Zwinger in the sense used in l. 3587 is obsolete in modern German, the commentators have to explain it, but the *Faust* passage has kept the word alive. One is tempted to ask: what is the use of a *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust* if we cannot find some of the most characteristic words?

Equally unfortunate are the results in connection with Part II. I have a list of over 220 words found in the stage directions, titles and names not recorded in the Index. I can give only a few of the most characteristic ones: Schlafsuchend 4613, Pfalz 4728, Theorbe 5158, 78, Naturdichter 5295, Nacht- und Grabdichter 5299, Attitüde 6293, Souffleurloch 6399, Explosion 6564, 9442, hingestreckt 6566, Farfarellen 6592, gemütlich 6770, Rollstuhl 6772, Parterre 6772, 6815, Laboratorium 6819, phantastisch 6819, 9127, Ad Spectatores 7003, 10210/327, 11286, Luftfahrer 7040, Allgesang 8217, bauchrednerisch 8227, Signal 9442, Felsensteile 9574 (the word has evidently been coined by Goethe, the *DWb* gives one other example from Goethe's works), aufflammen 9808, felsauf 9819, Lichtschweif 9901, Aureole 9903, Exuvien 9955, Platte 10039 (different in meaning from Platte in l. 2154, where *Platte* is used in the sense of *Glatze*, not *Tonsur*, as the Index states, Siebel is not a priest but a student, cf. *DWb*. s. v. Platte 11), Siebenmeilenstiefel 10067, auftappen 10067, Sprachrohr 11143, erblinden 11499, phantastisch-flügelmännisch 11636, Dick-

teufel 11656, Dürerteufel 11670 Unsterbliches 11825, 11934, Bergschluchten 11844, anbetend 12096.

More than 320 words are lacking in the *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust*.

The *Wortindex* omits the names of the "jeweils sprechenden Personen." No one will object to the omission of names like Faust, Gretchen and some others, but there are many speakers that have no personal names. They are allegories or personifications or they represent groups of people. In the scene *Vor dem Tor* we have Handwerksbursche, Dienstmädchen, Schüler, Bürgermädchen, Bürger, Bettler, Soldaten. These common nouns are not recorded unless they are also found in a metrical line. In the *Walpurgisnacht* we have Halbhexe, General, Parvenu, Autor, Trödelhexe, Prokto-phantasmist, Servibilis, all of which go unrecorded. To put these names, which are really descriptive nouns, in the same class as regular proper names is altogether mechanical. A name applied to an individual does not eo ipso become a proper name. To omit such words takes away from the wealth and variety of words used by Goethe in his *Faust*. There are many similar names in Part II.

The *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust* does not perform what the title promises, but that does not mean that it is of little value. It is of great value, fragmentary though it is, and we must be grateful to the editors for their labor, industry and devotion. But it will always remain a matter of keen regret that the learning of the editors did not guard them against being led astray by a wrong theory which has prevented them from giving us the perfect *Wortindex zu Goethes Faust* for the making of which they had every qualification.

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A Concordance to the English Poems of John Donne. By HOMER CARROLL COMBS and ZAY RUSK SULLENS. Chicago: Packard and Company, 1940. Pp. x + 418. \$7.50.

Mr. Combs had finished his manuscript for a Concordance of Donne before he heard of Mrs. Sullens' manuscript. This book represents a check of the two efforts against each other by Mr. Combs. Work was proceeding in the year 1933 on another Concordance of Donne by Whitner and Crawford; there is ground for believing that yet another was finished by Horace Williston; and I know that there is a good one, complete in manuscript, by Professor Roland B. Botting, of Pullman, Washington. The projectors of such works should advertise their projects well in advance, as Botting tried to do, in order to avoid needless waste of time and energy.

The present book will be of great use to students of Donne and other students of the English language and literature. The defects I have noted in it will not reduce its practical value. The one occurrence of *youthful* is out of alphabetical order. There should be mutual references between *yourself* and *self*; the basic text of Grierson commonly makes two words of *your selfe*, *thy selfe*, *it selfe*, etc. *Seely* and *silly* are grouped together under *silly*, though apparently Donne may use them differently. Again, there is no reason why the same line should be printed twice in succession when it contains a given word twice; on page 208, the line, "Thou, Love, by making mee love one" (52 *Will* 43), is mistakenly printed thrice. On page 210, the last reference to this word ("Physitians by their love") should doubtless be corrected to become the sole instance of *lore*; see Grierson's edition of 1912, 2. 275, Addendum; but the correction was missed for his text of 1929. Mr. Combs follows the way of my *Concordance to Wordsworth* by using *to* in the title, when *of* is better; by indicating a reference from one word or combination to another with *see*, when *See also* is better; and by taking the metrical line for quotation. This last practice does well enough with most of the lines of Donne and Wordsworth, but sometimes does harm, as in the line of Wordsworth, "His thin autumnal locks where Monks abide"; the result is better when we read: "to hide | His thin autumnal locks where Monks abide." A good many quotations from Donne could have been improved by addition and subtraction, and the extra labor would not have been great. On p. 416 there are no spaces ("leads") between the quotations under W, X, and Y, and no cap. X or cap. Y. Z (p. 418) is duly marked. The black-faced list of Words Omitted or Only Illustrated (p. vii) is printed in a fount too small, the same fount being used for "guide-words" (? "head-words") throughout the Concordance proper, where it functions well enough; the two preceding hyphens are mine. "Hyphenated" is a better term than "hyphenated" (p. vi), and there are not hyphens enough in the Preface. "Repetitious" is a word not liked by those who keep an eye on style.

Homer is mentioned by Donne in his English poems, and so is Lucan; Virgil is not, nor Lucretius, Horace, Chaucer, Shakespeare, or Spenser. Cicero's daughter appears as *Tullias* (but Mr. Combs' "guide"-word has a little *t*). Ovid does not appear, nor "Naso"; there is no Plato, no Aristotle, unless as "Nature's Secretary, the Philosopher" (the apostrophe is mine). Nor does the word *metaphysical* occur. Donne uses a good many geographical names and the like—"Magellan," "O my America! my new-found-land," "Guyana."

One thing a concordance shows for a poet, if he has it, is beauty of sound; the strong, emphatic Donne seems to lack melody in his lines as we read them aloud from the Concordance, his ear apparently not being keen for long and short syllables in English.

When so many persons are willing to index the poets, they should

be urged to do the work for an early rather than a late poet, and for a greater poet rather than a less. Even students of English would now do well to make such books for important authors of great ages in countries other than England, for the French poets, say, and the German; Mrs. Joseph E. Moody (Wolf Pit Road, Westport, Conn.) once undertook a work of the sort for the *Chanson de Roland*; or they should help Professor Deferrari of the Catholic University in Washington with his concordances of Latin poets. There are, in fact, not many English poets left, perhaps none of sufficient importance, for the growing tribe of concordance-makers. Some badly-needed volumes are still in manuscript. Professor Edwin J. Howard, of Oxford, Ohio, has a great deal done on a work of this kind for the body of Old English poetry; he already had a nucleus of slips some years ago for the signed poems of Cynewulf. Professor Coolidge Otis Chapman, of Tacoma, Washington, has long had a complete Concordance in manuscript of the four Middle English poems attributed to the author of *Pearl*; this ought long since to have been published, and it is not Mr. Chapman's fault that it never has been issued; I highly recommend it to Messrs. Packard and Company, who in a short time have as far-sighted publishers done much for the advancement of scholarship in the field of "English."

LANE COOPER

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- A *Concordance to the Poems of A. E. Housman*. Compiled and edited by CLYDE KENNETH HYDER. Lawrence, Kansas, 1940. Pp. vii + 133. [Planographed.] \$3.50.
- A *Bibliography of Alfred Edward Housman*. Compiled by THEODORE G. EHRSAM. Boston: F. W. Faxon Company, 1941. Pp. 44. \$1.25. (Useful Reference Series, No. 66.)

Although Professor Hyder has done a careful job, the necessity of a Housman concordance is questionable for four reasons: the corpus of Housman's poetry is extremely small; Housman is a minor poet and too recent; the edition of his *Collected Poems* does not indicate the many variants and is not an established text; and, indeed, some of Housman is still uncollected. The author covers the verses in the *Collected Poems* (though he errs in accepting the readings of the unreliable Knopf *More Poems*), and the lighter verse in Laurence Housman's *My Brother, A. E. Housman* and in *Alfred Edward Housman: Recollections*. He also includes a word-list for "Fragment of a Greek Tragedy," but uses the *Yale Review* version, which contains two errors. Minor omissions are two *Shropshire Lad* variant lines (xxxviii, 10; lxi, 9) and the uncollected bits in Laurence Housman's memoir (p. 76), in the *Recollections* (p. 17), in the London

Times (November 9, 1936, p. 13), and in Percy Withers's *A Buried Life* (p. 66). Far more serious is the omission of the comic verses in *Three Poems* (University College, London, 1935). Despite this, the *Concordance* will be an aid to the student of Housman's vocabulary and his use of metaphor and simile.

Mr. Ehrsam's book is an incomplete and inaccurate check-list with bibliographical pretensions. He attempts to supplement A. S. F. Gow's list (*A. E. Housman: A Sketch*, pp. 65-80), and does add (1) some items published since 1936, (2) first American editions, but with inaccurate data and no collations, (3) a bare few of many reprintings, and (4) a long but incomplete list of reviews and Housmaniana. This bibliography, however, is characterized more by what it omits than by what it includes. Nor is Mr. Ehrsam entirely familiar with material he handles. Thus, for "privately printed issues" he directs the reader to John Carter's article in the *Colophon*, where only two such "issues" are noted. One of these (*Introductory Lecture*) Mr. Ehrsam himself lists, and one other (*Three Poems*). But he misses six more: *Address to Sir J. G. Frazer*, *Address of Condolence*, *Jubilee Address*, "For My Funeral," and two noted by Gow (p. 80). Only one appearance in a periodical ("Fragment of a Greek Tragedy") is given, nothing whatever being said of other material in magazines,¹ books, and anthologies; nor are uncollected writings and MSS. mentioned. Off-prints of Housman's classical studies are neglected except for a single listing. The vast list of authorized and unauthorized *Shropshire Lads* published in America and England is overlooked. Arbitrarily ignoring newspaper articles, Mr. Ehrsam misses some 60 items (many important) in the *London Times* and New York papers. Failure to record changes between American and English editions and to give correct first publication data betrays carelessness: Laurence Housman's *Unexpected Years*, for instance, was first issued by Bobbs-Merrill, 1936, not Cape, 1937. And of more than 50 musical settings, only Vaughan Williams's is listed.

The only *raison d'être* for this book is that it presents the longest list of reviews and biographical-critical material yet published. However, so awkwardly are the reviews arranged that the use of them is difficult; and the 235 critical articles are fewer than half of those published. While the bibliography will be useless to collectors, it will be helpful to students in spite of its faults. But its principal value is to point the need for a definitive Housman bibliography.

WILLIAM WHITE

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¹ For a list of these first appearances, see an article published after Mr. Ehrsam's volume went to press: John Carter and John Sparrow, "A. E. Housman, An Annotated Check-List," *The Library*, 4th ser., xxi (September, 1940), 160-91.

Paradise Lost: An Account of Its Growth and Major Origins, with a Discussion of Milton's Use of Sources and Literary Patterns.

By GRANT MCCOLLEY. Chicago: Packard and Company, 1940. Pp. xix + 362. \$2.50.

This book is a significant contribution to our growing recognition of Milton's debt to, and place in, the Christian tradition. Following Robbins and Taylor, Mr. McColley brings out—with a wealth of detail hitherto unattained—Milton's knowledge of the Hexameral tradition, and then passes to an excellent analysis of the growth of *Paradise Lost* from the Trinity College drafts onward, a new and ingenious chronology for the composition of the poem, and a summary entitled "Interpretations and Conclusions."

Despite its virtues—and there are many which we have not mentioned—Mr. McColley's book contains two serious weaknesses. The first is the unorthodox chronology of *Paradise Lost*. Rejecting the traditional dates (1655-63), he prefers to exclude the years 1658-60, and to assign the whole of Book VI and parts of Books IV, V, VIII to 1652-53; I-III and parts of IV and V to 1655-58; and the remainder of the epic to 1660-63. 1652-53, however, seems less suitable for "relatively uninterrupted work" on the epic than Mr. McColley would have us believe (p. 308).¹ The context of *P. L.*, IV, 124-30 does not indicate that the passage is necessarily an interpolation (p. 321). Nothing in *P. L.*, VII, 23-35 shows that it could have been written only in 1660 (pp. 300-1). And finally, Mr. McColley seems all too arbitrary in his treatment of Milton's contemporary biographers.² Such matters lead us to believe that Mr. McColley's new chronology is, as he suggests (p. 309), "overly radical" and "forced."

The second and far more serious fault is Mr. McColley's disregard of the *De doctrina*, which he mentions apparently only twice and dismisses as a "digest chiefly from the works" of Ames and Wolleb (p. 337). Having thus ignored the theology, which constitutes the "great" and basic argument of *Paradise Lost*, he easily trips on detail,³ omits to give any account of the most immediate

¹ For instance Milton became blind during this period. Mr. McColley would date the blindness in 1651, but the firmness and certainty with which Milton signed the Arnold Album on November 19, 1651, completely belies Mr. McColley's contention. During the seventeen months between December 1651 and April 1653, moreover, Milton's mass of diplomatic work exceeded that done in the preceding two years and nine months (Masson, IV, 427, 486).

² Particularly questionable seem Mr. McColley's disregard of the anonymous biographer and his dismissal of Aubrey's notes as "secondary" and "obviously confused" (p. 307). The anonymous biographer apparently had first-hand knowledge of Milton's literary activities between 1655-58, and entries in the Bodleian MS by both Mrs. Milton and Edward Phillips indicate that Aubrey went to some pains to verify his information.

³ For instance, Mr. McColley misinterprets *P. L.*, III, 173-202 (pp. 205-

"major origin" of the poem, and is consequently in no position to discuss adequately the more general, but extremely significant, theme of Milton's Christian heritage.

For Mr. McColley, it turns out, the Christian tradition or paradosis appears to be synonymous with the "vast body of religious literature which Christendom had slowly accumulated for sixteen centuries" (p. 2); but for scholarly purposes we must distinguish with Troeltsch between the central Christian tradition of the Churches and the religion of the Sects and other groups, and between important and unimportant presentations of each case. It serves little purpose to cite the names of eleven theological writers in alphabetical order to show Milton's orthodoxy on the *Imago Dei*. It is merely confusing to be informed that Milton's views on the goodness of God in creation would be "equally attractive to Christians of all creeds" (p. 48). For those who recognise the Christian paradosis as anything more than an amorphous mass of opinion, the phrase "Christians of all creeds" is a contradiction in terms. It may be true that in this instance none of the Churches or Sects would quarrel with Milton's position; but that is because one and the same view of the Creator's activity is common to them. Instead of quoting Damascene, Heywood, Kollebe, and More as background for the goodness of God in creation, Mr. McColley would have been happier to compare the "put not forth my goodness" passage with the Biblical view of creation, the belief of the creeds, the standard utterances of Augustine, Thomas, and Calvin. Surely, too, it was necessary to pass behind what Milton and these authorities say on the activity of God to the fundamental question of what they say on the nature of God; but this subject is not even broached.

It would be ungenerous to stress these typical short-comings in a book of real value and scholarship. Within its limits the book is excellent and meets a real need. Yet the author does fail to fulfill one of his principal claims, to give us an adequate picture of the Christian and philosophic setting of Milton's thought, of that "ancient and powerful tradition which gave birth to *Paradise Lost*" and of which Hexameral literature is only a manifestation. Such a task, however, may be beyond the power of any one man living today, for it would require mastery of the Milton Corpus and the Biblical-theological tradition alike.

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MAURICE KELLEY
T. S. K. SCOTT-CRAIG

07), mistakenly connects the Spirit present at creation with Matt. iii, 16 (p. 51), and finds an impropriety, where none exists, in the two announcements of the exaltation of the Son (p. 211).

Bishop Butler, Moralism and Divine. By WILLIAM J. NORTON, JR.
New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1940. Pp. xi +
336. \$3.75. (Rutgers University Studies in Philosophy, 1.)

Bishop Butler looms large in eighteenth-century English thought. Mr. William J. Norton, Jr., now devotes a sizable volume to the comprehensive examination of Butler's writings in the attempt to reconstruct his ethical, metaphysical, cosmological, social, political, and religious systems. Butler himself never having put any of these into definitive form, Mr. Norton's study is directed toward the "interpretation of Butler's philosophy as a whole, viewed internally" (p. x).

Doubtless this synthetic aim is admirable; but the "internal view" needs to be supplemented, tested, and corrected by the "external view," including the intellectual climate and the political and social backgrounds. This Mr. Norton has not done. The only writers of the Age of Reason cited in his bibliography are Hobbes, Locke, and Wollaston, of whom only the last is actually quoted at first-hand, though, to be sure, the names of Clarke, Descartes, Hutcheson, Leibniz, Shaftesbury, and Wesley receive passing mention. In 1936 the bicentenary of the publication of the *Analogy of Religion* elicited at least one full volume and a dozen or more articles; the latest study of Butler mentioned, however, is of 1930. This scholarly deficiency is not simply lack of documentation but lies much deeper in a deliberate disregard of historical values.

Yet without these correctives, Mr. Norton's methodology is bound to lead to occasional dubious conclusions. The section on Butler's social and political philosophy may serve to illustrate the weaknesses of strict textualism. After "a painstaking search guided by a degree of conjecture" [p. 144], Mr. Norton concludes that: (1) "Butler is a proponent and defender of the divine right of kings" [p. 158]; and (2) "Butler refuses to believe in the right of rebellion or revolution" [p. 162]. To attribute such unequivocal sentiments to a Whig bishop who always voted with the Walpole administration is dangerous. Believing that government is moral by nature, Butler finds in all of its forms manifestations of the divine will. The democracy of a tiny Swiss canton is as true an instance as the limited monarchy of George II, an elected national official or an appointed local constable as an hereditary king. To confuse this broad moral sanction of all government with the narrowly political *divine right of kings* is suicidal of all meaning. Again, government being fundamentally moral to Butler, even a bad government is preferable to none and, therefore, revolution with its consequent temporary suspension of government is "not to be thought of without horror." Yet Butler nowhere expressly declares that revolution is never expedient, which is a very different proposition indeed and, in view of the "Glorious Revolution," one not apt to be held by a Protestant Whig in public position.

However useful this volume may prove to the professional philosopher or moralist, it is not likely to interest the historian of thought or of ideas because of the author's insistence upon what he calls "the fact that in their essential thought" Butler's writings "are so little a product of their times" [p. 9]. Nor is Mr. Norton's prolix and cumbersome dissertation style likely to please the historian or critic of fine letters. *Bishop Butler, Moralist and Divine*, despite the title, is not really concerned with Butler the man, nor yet with Butler the thinker in so far as he derived from and, in turn, affected his age, but solely with the thought of Butler as interpreted by the writer from the viewpoint of the twentieth century. If the twentieth century rather than the eighteenth was Mr. Norton's chief interest, it would certainly have been less confusing to the historian and it might conceivably have been more useful to the metaphysician and moralist had he omitted altogether the framework of Butler's works. It is, therefore, to be hoped that he will sometime salvage the many materials of value from his pseudo-historical excursion into the eighteenth century and present his own conception of a modern Protestant philosophy.

ERNEST C. MOSSNER

Syracuse University

The Good Lord Lyttelton: A Study in Eighteenth Century Politics and Culture. By ROSE MARY DAVIS. Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: Times Publishing Company, 1939. Pp. ix + 443.

This is an industrious and heavily documented biography of George Lyttelton, one of the most unexciting figures in his age; and it is really nothing more. The subtitle is a complete misnomer: there is no study of eighteenth-century politics or culture; merely an endless succession of petty fact and swelling quotation, from which, in Johnsonian phrase, "the attention naturally retires." Lost in the four hundred pages of diffuse narrative are some "contributions to knowledge," and some corrections of error, the results of Miss Davis's reference to MS. material; and for these we are duly grateful. The deficiencies of the book are largely explicable by our lack of precision in defining the requirements of a doctoral dissertation in literature. To demand—or at least to encourage—"contribution to knowledge" is sound. But far more emphasis should be thrown than is commonly the case on an effort of synthesis. To such an effort, no doubt, lipservice is paid—sufficient to dictate subtitles, but not radically to alter the character of books. Lyttelton, relatively unimportant in himself, is a characteristic figure in eighteenth-century politics, society and letters, and what is more significant, is a type of the *honnête homme* (English variety)

passing into "the man of feeling." How do his life and writings illustrate these facts, and in so doing illustrate the temper and the tastes of the century's middle years? If we can answer these questions when we lay Miss Davis's volume aside, it is either because we knew the answers already or because we have laboriously pieced them together from her indiscriminate quotations.

Nowhere is Lyttelton more interesting than in his relations with other writers (especially with Thomson), and to this subject Miss Davis pays a good deal of attention. Especially we are glad to have (as Appendix A) an account of Lyttelton's posthumous revision of Thomson's *Seasons*, based on a transcript of emendations, preserved in the British Museum, the original interleaved copy of the *Works* (1750) having perished at Hagley in 1925. Other appendices print verses and letters hitherto unpublished, and in the text (pp. 301-2) we find an interesting unpublished letter from Boswell. There is a very useful check list of the various editions of Lyttelton's published writings, of works of doubtful authorship, and of those erroneously ascribed to him, followed by twelve pages of reference works used in compiling the biography.

The mechanics of the book are far from satisfactory. Dr. Johnson tells us in his inimitable way that the third edition of Lyttelton's *History of Henry II* appeared with "what the world had hardly seen before, a list of errors in nineteen pages." Miss Davis's volume lacks such embellishment; nor is it our purpose to supply the defect. Half a dozen instances will suffice. In the bibliography we encounter Professor Elizabeth Mainwaring and the *Life and Political Works* of James Woodhouse; and we read of Basil William's *Life* (p. 88), of protégés (p. 128), of Field marshal Sir Robert Rich (p. 141). Such slips make us uneasy about the more numerous examples of some one's error occurring in the quotations. Did Lyttelton find the world marked by a "tendency to perjection" (p. 297), and write It for Its in his verses (p. 142), and talk about "by own health" (p. 129), and "they wretched world" (p. 97), and did the *Gazetteer* spell *Iliad* with a double l (p. 57), and did Wilkes write "store" for "stole" and complete the nonsense by leaving out the period at the end of the line (p. 279)? Not less deplorable is the occasional failure to accommodate the grammar of the sentence to the quotation which is embedded in it (p. 79), or the sacrifice of sense to a thoughtless accuracy of transcription (if indeed accurate it be) where sentences are made to end with a semicolon or colon or with no punctuation at all, and where one gets such meaningless records as a comma, three dots, and a comma (pp. 273, 79, 281).

A. S. P. WOODHOUSE

University of Toronto

John Gay, Favorite of the Wits. By WILLIAM HENRY IRVING.
 Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp.
 xii + 334. \$3.50.

In his preface, Mr. Irving reminds us that "although the Augustans are again in fashion, so far no adequate life of John Gay has appeared." He has therefore added to his earlier study, *John Gay's London*, an admirable biography of the fat, genial, lazy bard. Although Gay was the favorite of the Wits, he has been no favorite with biographers. His life was uneventful. He was no favorite with the statesmen and politicians of Augustan London and therefore had no political career as did most of his literary contemporaries. He was the pampered darling of great ladies; yet there is no suspicion of a love affair, and in the only incident where it is hinted that Gay toyed with the idea of marriage he was such a laggard that Swift called him the "silliest lover in Christendom." Furthermore, there are no literary quarrels to add spice to the story of this amiable poet's life. Mr. Irving concludes that Gay lacked the energy that would have made him really ambitious.

The biographer of Gay is handicapped by lack of abundant material. "He was," Mr. Irving says, "from the biographer's point of view, most disobliging. He kept no diary, he wrote no autobiography, he neither preserved nor revised his letters. He was utterly careless about signing his name to essays and poems." Mr. Irving has drawn from newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets, theatrical records, and the minor writings of the eighteenth century to produce a biography that is thorough, scholarly, and well-documented. Despite the author's pleasant, easy style, the interest lags at times because of the inclusion of material that slows the tempo of the narrative.

The first part of the introductory chapter gives a pleasing account of life in Devonshire in the closing years of the seventeenth century. Here, where his forebears had for generations been county people of some consequence, Gay was to the manner born. Here he received a good education at the Barnstaple Grammar School. Less successful is the second part of this chapter, which deals with the barren years of Gay's life, from 1708 to 1711. The contributions of his colleagues on the staff of *The British Apollo* are discussed, but just what he contributed, either of verse or prose, to that periodical is not made clear. Any account of the life of Gay gains interest when it reaches his friendship with Pope, who was attracted by his "good nature and ingenuity." From this time on, Gay found direction for his genius, and the twenty year association with Pope was the supreme achievement of his life.

In all Gay's poems there is none perfect—the parts are better than the whole, a fact which makes selection from his works difficult. Mr. Irving perhaps gives too high praise to the songs, but

such partiality is natural in so enthusiastic a biographer. Parts of *The Shepherd's Week* and of *Trivia*, the *Journey to Exeter*, the *Epistle to a Lady on her Passion for Old China*, *Mr. Pope's Welcome from Greece*, *The Beggar's Opera*, and a few songs from other plays are no mean output. They still delight us. Perhaps, after all, John Gay thrived on pampering.

CHARLES KENNETH EVES

College of the City of New York

John and William Bartram, Botanists and Explorers; 1699-1777, 1739-1823. By ERNEST EARNEST. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. vii + 187. \$2.00.

Crèvecoeur's *American Farmer* began the myth that John Bartram's interest in flowers developed miraculously in a mature man (p. 15), whereas Bartram himself says (*ibid.*) that he "had always, since ten years old, a great inclination to plants." Franklin (p. 25) concurs. William Bartram (pp. 15-16) leads us to believe that the first step his father took towards scientific botany was connected with a practical rustic interest in surgery and medicine. As an amateur student of herbal remedies, John surely did seek help from a neighboring schoolmaster, who taught him Latin and the technical names of plants.

Others in the region about Philadelphia had formed botanic gardens before John began his; note the German mystics led by Kelpius, and two successive gardens started by Christopher Witt. Mr. Earnest does not mention the yet earlier gardens of South America, among which no doubt we must include collections of medicinal plants made by the Incas, who also caught and kept wild animals.

The lives of John and William Bartram centred in their garden, which still remains near the heart of what is now greater Philadelphia. Here their friends and acquaintances, as Franklin, Jefferson, Crèvecoeur, and even Washington, came to visit the philosophical botanists and their plants. Washington, a wealthy landholder at Mount Vernon, seems to have been disappointed in the crowded five or six acres on the Schuylkill. The travels of both John and William also had their centre in the garden and the stone house made by John's own hands. Here too they received distinguished visitors, including men of science, from Great Britain and the Continent. Too bad the present volume lacks a plan or picture of the house and grounds. The cuts of father and son are most engaging.

There are far too many points of interest in Mr. Earnest's care-

ful, valuable, well-made book to let us touch on all of them in a short review. Doubtless a few words should be added on the literary relations of the Bartrams. There is some evidence that one or both were influenced by the writings of Sir Isaac Newton; that they both fought French eighteenth-century atheism, and accepted something from a theism of the same nation; and that, like many other Friends, they read the narrative poems of Milton. How these gardeners must have reveled in Book Four of *Paradise Lost*!

For their influence, and especially that of William, on English and other European writers, Mr. Earnest has duly recorded the findings of source-hunters thus far, and has discovered some parallels for himself. He is, however, mistaken in thinking (p. 132) that Coleridge was more likely to have noted a given book of travels before Wordsworth saw it than the other way round.

There is an ugly term, "Foreword," at the opening of the book, instead of "Preface"; too bad Lewis Carroll did not cure our language at this point in advance. For "prior to" (p. 69) and "lengthy" (p. 141), say "before" and "long." Or shall the purists give in, and say "widthy" for "wide," "strengthy" for "strong," and so on? Further, there are needless dots before and after quotations from prose; as if we needed to be told that a quoter is not quoting a whole book. And there should be more hyphens for what really are compound words. This substantial and entertaining book is very welcome.

LANE COOPER

Charles Sackville, sixth Earl of Dorset, patron and poet of the Restoration. By BRICE HARRIS. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois, 1940. Pp. 269. \$3.00 and \$3.50. (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, xxvi, 3-4.)

Professor Brice Harris's *Charles Sackville, Sixth Earl of Dorset*, with its subtitle, *Poet and Patron of the Restoration*, is the first full-length biography of this noble rake, whose youthful scandalous achievements as the colleague of Rochester, Sedley, Buckingham, and even Charles himself have for many people probably overshadowed his associations with Dryden, Etherege, Congreve, Otway, Prior, and the rest, and have certainly overshadowed for everyone his own minor accomplishments in literature and statesmanship. Mr. Harris has been at work on his book for several years, as his acknowledgment of a grant-in-aid from the American Council of Learned Societies in 1934 indicates; and the signs of his industry, patience, and ingenuity in research are everywhere visible. Besides recording what seems to be every bit of printed material

about his subject, he has thoroughly combed all the pertinent collections of records and documents, and has had access to the family papers still preserved by the present Lord Sackville. All the significant material seems therefore to have been presented in this study.

Yet this is the sort of book whose great merit tends to become its chief weakness. Such a mass of quotations and details of minor consequence are likely to obscure the larger outlines of the life and the finer shadings of the character. When everything is set down as of equal importance, the result is likely to lack proportion. It is not enough to let facts speak for themselves, without synthesis. Mr. Harris himself is not unaware of the danger he has exposed himself to, for toward the end of the book he writes: "In summarizing the character of Charles Sackville, Sixth Earl of Dorset, after several hundred pages of forgotten facts, one can only hope that the picture is clearer and fairer. . . . It has seemed proper, then, sometimes at the pain of full documentation and as objectively as possible, to exhibit the parade of vices and virtues which made up his life in a day-by-day account."

One regrets the more that Mr. Harris has been tempted to this easier road because at many points he gives clear indication of his ability to write good narrative and criticism. Sometimes the adoption of a less chronological presentation of events would improve the organization, as in the now rather badly scattered discussion of the two *Pompey* plays. Sometimes authors seem to be improperly grouped together, though this fault does not occur often; surely, however, it is a distortion to discuss Sackville's patronage of Thomas Shadwell in the chapter entitled "The Lesser Men of Letters" when his patronage of John Crowne is treated in "The Greater Men of Letters."

The index, which when used in conjunction with the footnotes becomes also a bibliography, is very complete and satisfactory, though there are one or two slips, such as the omission of Allardyce Nicoll, in spite of the use of Nicoll in the text and footnotes. One is also rather surprised to find that Leslie Hotson's work is not referred to in the discussion of the history of the late Restoration theater. The index, nevertheless, might well be taken as suggestive of the value of Mr. Harris's book, which should be a very useful reference work for the scholar in literature and history, but is less interesting reading than its material would have permitted.

ARTHUR H. NETHERCOT

Northwestern University

The Brontës' Web of Childhood. By FANNIE ELIZABETH RATCHFORD. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xix + 293. \$3.50.

The Complete Poems of Emily Jane Brontë. Edited by C. W. HATFIELD. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xxi + 262. \$2.80.

Nearly twenty years ago Miss Ratchford became interested in the Brontë juvenilia and began the task of studying them. Earlier publication of partial results of her work aroused great interest among Brontë scholars, who have long awaited the complete results. The present volume will more than fulfill their expectations. Two major difficulties beset anyone engaged on this quest: the wide dispersion of manuscripts and the microscopic and often illegible script in which they are written. Her perseverance and eyesight have been equal to the task, and we now have a fascinating account of their contents and significance.

Since by far the greatest number of the manuscripts are Charlotte's, it is to her that most of the book is devoted. For years she and Branwell encouraged each other in fictions concerning various characters in the imaginary land of Angria. Branwell's ideas ran almost entirely to war, revolution, and slaughter. Charlotte preferred the social scene and the creation of striking characters. Her contributions present a strange mixture of Scott and Byron. As time went on she constantly reverted to earlier portions of the narrative, writing new scenes about earlier events and even creating new earlier events to go with them. That this was also Emily's habit is proved by her poems. In Charlotte's work the existence of a large mass of material in both prose and verse has enabled Miss Ratchford to straighten out most of the difficulties; in the case of Emily the disappearance of the prose history of the Gondals has left some unsolved problems.

Next in interest to the account of Charlotte's literary relations with her brother is the section on M. Héger. Miss Ratchford believes that Charlotte's letters to him should not be interpreted as love-letters and that the sources of *Jane Eyre* and *Villette* are to be found in the juvenilia rather than in Brussels. This is a controversial point. While it would be useless to deny in the face of the evidence that these books derive much from Charlotte's earlier writings, we can hardly be persuaded that M. Héger and his pensionnat had nothing to do with the case.

Valuable as it is, the section on Charlotte is of minor interest compared to the interpretation of Emily's poems, all of which were connected with the story of her imaginary land of Gondal. Only those who have attempted to unravel from these poems the narrative which lay behind them can appreciate the skill and patience with which Miss Ratchford has reconstructed the outlines of that epic.

Her account solves many puzzles which have confused readers of the poems and makes it possible now to see them against the proper background and to understand their meaning.

Miss Ratchford had already shown the need for a revised edition of Emily's poems based on a complete survey of the manuscripts. Luckily Mr. C. W. Hatfield, whose edition in 1923 was the first to deal with them intelligently, has now published the definitive edition. It contains the first satisfactory account we have had of the manuscripts and their locations. This catalogue shows that Emily made two careful collections of her poems in 1844, one of which contains the annotations made by her and Charlotte when preparing to publish their poems in 1846.

Collation of new manuscripts and increased acquaintance with Emily's script have produced many corrections. For instance, "The dream of A. G. A." now appears more significantly as "The death of A. G. A." Notation of the variants shows that when Charlotte published some of Emily's poems after her death she often added whole stanzas of her own as well as making relatively harmless changes in style. A number of the longer poems now appear in their complete form instead of in fragments. The best example involves two well-known passages, "The Visionary" and "The Prisoner," which are actually parts of a long narrative entitled "Julian M. and A. G. Rochelle." This heading emphasizes the point that Emily's poems must be read in the light of their Gondal setting. The new edition gives us much new evidence for this, but the interpretation must be sought in Miss Ratchford's book. We still need an explanatory index of the Gondal characters and their initials. It is worth pointing out that events in Gondal history were established by Emily with great precision. Three poems (pp. 110, 212, 217) specify the month and year, and one (p. 186) the year only.

LEICESTER BRADNER

Brown University

The Sentimental Novel in America, 1789-1860. By HERBERT ROSS BROWN. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1940. Pp. x + 407. \$3.00.

The Sentimental Novel in America presents a vivid and richly documented picture of the light reading of the general public between the years 1789 and 1860. Few absurdities of the sentimental compromise of that period escape illustration and comment by a writer who is able to maintain a sane and humorous perspective throughout: the heroine of sensibility with her ready tears and swoonings, her virtue, her piety, her faithfulness unto death (which she uniformly preferred to the divorce court however licentious or

brutal her husband); the romantic hero of sensibility, scarcely less given to tears and swooning than the heroine; the villain of seduction stories, who also acquired the appurtenances of sensibility at the moment of repentance; the sentimental backdrop with its groves and summerhouses and grottoes for the reflective moods of the heroine, its opportune moonlight and sunsets and storm clouds; the American equivalent of the Victorian home, "the appointed shrine for woman, more holy than cloister, more saintly and pure than church or altar." Of even more value in the account of the subjects about which the American public liked to read in these years are the chapters on the fictional versions of the numberless fads—Mesmerism, Phrenology, Perfectionism and the expectation of the Millenium, and what not—and those reviewing the fictional contributions to two great nineteenth-century movements, the fight for temperance and the anti-slavery (and pro-slavery) crusade.

Professor Brown's book is thus without doubt a rich and valuable store-house of information pertinent to the understanding of the American culture of the period. Pertinent to the understanding, for, although fiction of this calibre cannot in any sense be considered a representation of the society which it pretends to depict, nevertheless so thorough a review of what the public liked in the way of fiction, what kind of plots, what types of characters, what moral premises, what social formulae, what beliefs about man and his destiny, tells us something very valuable about its mind and tastes. In fact such a contribution would seem to be the *raison d'être* of this kind of a study, for as Professor Brown has clearly shown these novels can scarcely be taken seriously from the point of view of the aesthetics of the novel. Yet it is along this very line—the reflection of the popular preferences of the time and hence of the American mind—that Professor Brown might have made a more solid contribution. His book is indeed much more descriptive than analytical. It accepts the fictional scene without asking searchingly enough *how* and *why*. It too easily attributes the main features of the sentimental formula to the example of Richardson and Sterne instead of seeing that Richardson and Sterne merely gave a convenient form of expression for ideas current in a larger frame of reference. It throws out intriguing illustrations of matter to be found in the novels without seeing its significance or relating it to larger and more important movements of thought—such matter as educational principles, shifting conceptions of the moral sense, the whole cycle of ideas involved in primitivism, the rationalistic solution for the perfectibility of man. In fact so little analysis has Professor Brown given to this part of his material that he has lumped together illustrative material presenting quite distinct and often antagonistic strands of thought as if they all belonged to the same family of ideas: the revolutionary conception of perfectibility, for example, tends in his treatment of it to merge with the religious doctrine of

perfectionism on the one hand and with the idealization of the American Indian on the other. A more adequate equipment in the background of ideas would have enabled him to see significance in a great deal that he has passed over lightly and would have completed the picture for us of the interests and preferences of the less erudite American public from 1789 to 1860, a picture which he has so admirably drawn for us up to a certain point.

LOIS WHITNEY

Russell Sage College

Joseph Conrad, The Making of a Novelist. By JOHN D. GORDAN.
Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1940.
Pp. xiv + 430. \$4.00.

Ford Maddox Ford held the opinion that in time there might come an obscuration of Conrad's fame, his contention being "that it is natural for each succeeding age to react against the masterpieces produced by the age immediately preceding it." Nevertheless, November saw the publication of two books on Conrad: *The Letters of Joseph Conrad*, edited and translated by John Archer Gee and Paul Sturm of Yale University, and *Joseph Conrad, The Making of a Novelist* by John D. Gordan of Harvard University.

The amount of patient and exhaustive research in Mr. Gordan's book is prodigious, and future students of Conrad and of English literature cannot afford to be without it. Who was this man Conrad? Mr. Gordan shows us all the facets of this inexhaustible genius, the core of his mind and soul, lofty, tender, and understanding, "one of us"—as he explained Lord Jim. This new study holds nothing back: we see a creative artist producing a succession of masterpieces, harassed by continual personal and family illnesses, the demands of editors and publishers, dunned by tradesmen and creditors. This condition was existent and constant until after the publication of *Chance* in 1914, when his place was assured. Here is a sympathetic and factual disclosure of the mind and methods of Conrad, revealing in detail his incessant search for the right word correctly to mirror his experiences and philosophy. "Give me the right word," said Conrad, "and I will move the world." The changes in text and in the titles themselves are duly set down: *The Children of the Sea*—"absurdly sweet"; then the substitution of the original title *A Tale of the Forecastle*; then—*A Tale of the Sea, A Tale of Ships and Men*, and finally the blunt, but particularly appropriate *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, which title that noble but lonely saga of the sailing era bears today. There are copious examples illustrating the growth of the text, a veritable encyclopedia of Conrad source material.

In the research work connected with compiling *A Conrad Memorial Library* I felt the need of a more fully documented biography than the studies by Curle, Jean-Aubry, and others, available at that time. Conrad in his Author's Notes gave us valuable clues to the genesis and background of the stories, and now Mr. Gordan in going back to the original manuscripts, corrected proofs, published and unpublished letters, has given us in a single volume all the information that the most serious student could wish for. Fortunately, the bulk of the manuscripts and other Conradiana are preserved in this country.

Well, there cannot be too many studies of the life and works of the great Pole. Ford says, "He was a great poet and an honest man. So scientifically and with precision we may deduce his immortality, and his dust may lie in its Kentish sunlight heedless of passing clouds."

GEORGE T. KEATING

Rancho Santa Fe, California

Charles Egbert Craddock (Noailles Murfree). By EDD WINFIELD PARKS. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. xvi + 258. \$2.50.

Mr. Parks's book is less significant as biography or criticism than as a revealing account of the literary career of a Southern gentlewoman, Mary Noailles Murfree ("Charles Egbert Craddock"), "a gifted amateur of letters," who published her first article, "Flirts and Their Ways," in 1874 and her last, "Muscle Shoals in Colonial Days," in 1921, a year before her death at the age of seventy-two. At the beginning of her long and productive career, at the moment when an interest in local color was in the ascendant, Miss Murfree was so fortunate as to discover a vein of material—the lives of the Tennessee mountaineers—which she worked industriously for over a decade. Her first notable success was the volume of short stories assembled from the pages of the *Atlantic Monthly* and published under the title *In the Tennessee Mountains* in 1884. Her best local color novels were *The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* (1885) and *In the "Stranger People's" Country* (1891). In 1896 she was shocked to learn that her publishers were losing interest in her repetitious use of the material most familiar to her, but, turning courageously to the working of a new vein, the American historical novel, she produced two moderate successes, *The Story of Old Fort Loudon* (1899) and *A Spectre of Power* (1903). When the vogue of this type of novel passed in its turn, she was unable to understand or to master the new modes of

naturalistic or sociological fiction, and was forced to devote her last years to hack work of no distinction.

Although Miss Murfree is a decidedly minor figure in the history of American fiction, this book about her was well worth writing. Mr. Parks's evocation of the genteel background of his heroine's life is a delightful contribution to the social history of the South. His carefully documented narrative of her imperious dealings with her indulgent publishers throws a welcome light on the status of the author in the late nineteenth century. The psychological problems connected with her personality he has refrained from treating, and the critical problems he has not been completely successful in solving. He is happiest in pointing out the values and the limitations of her work: skilful use of dialect, opulent descriptions, strongly typed recurrent characters, and repetitious plots. It is extremely doubtful, however, whether, as he asserts, she ever wrote "a distinguished novel," or that there is anything in her writing "approaching greatness." But for a careful evaluation of Miss Murfree's work on the scale of the other local color writers of the period, this attractive book will furnish the necessary foundation.

FRED B. MILLETT

Wesleyan University

Sylvester Judd (1813-1853), Novelist of Transcendentalism. By PHILIP JUDD BROCKWAY. Orono, Maine: University Press, 1941. Pp. xvi + 121. (University of Maine Studies, No. 53.)

In a curious personal essay, "Cardiagraphy," addressed to members of his own family, Sylvester Judd wrote in June, 1837:

I would yield my heart cheerfully to the dictates of reason. I cannot, I dare not demur. I reject Calvinism because it opposes my consciousness, my reason, my nature, and the Bible. . . . My soul bursts from its prison-house; it walks forth, buoyant with freedom; it treads upward toward its God.

Judd was twenty-four years old. Graduated from Yale in the previous year, he now enrolled in the Harvard Divinity School until 1840; the balance of his life of forty years he spent in Augusta, Maine, in the service of the Unitarian church. The exultant words were, presumably, typical of the feelings of many young New Englanders in 1837 who watched the withdrawal of John Calvin's black hand; who heard the free voices of Channing and Emerson.

The value of Mr. Brockway's study lies less in the recreation of Judd as a man of letters than in this depiction of his "transcendental" experience. Although Mr. Brockway naturally regrets that he cannot establish more precisely the personal associations of Judd and Emerson, the relationship gains, I think, from the fact

that Judd was not one of the circle of idealistic young men (whom Hawthorne disliked) about the seer of Concord. The influence, then, was independent of proximity; it was distance-defying, almost telepathic; and in its indelible stamp upon Judd's writings it remains one of the most memorable instances of Emerson's spiritual magnetism. The definitions of this influence and of Judd as a delicate recorder of other liberalisms of the time make Mr. Brockway's study a valuable expansion of our knowledge of "The New England Renaissance."

The portions of the book which celebrate Judd's literary performance are less fortunate, partly because Mr. Brockway is more expository than critical, but chiefly because Judd's writing, except for his suggestions of the contemporary New England mind, is indubitably minor and second-rate. The full titles of his works intimate their provincial qualities: *Margaret, A Tale of the Real and Ideal, Blight and Bloom, Including Sketches of a Place Not Before Described, Called Mons Christi* (1845); *Richard Edney and the Governor's Family* (1850); and *Philo, An Evangeliad* (1850), a blank verse narrative which, says Mr. Brockway, was regarded by some contemporary readers as a "signal fire for the regeneration of the earth." More probably, these elaborately ideological works of the disciple of Emerson will throw an occasional gleam of light on that aspiring little group of thinkers who lived before the triumph of the machine.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS

Yale University

Hegel's Hellenic Ideal, by GLENN GRAY, King's Crown Press, New York, 1941, viii + 104 pp.

After the end of the Middle Ages Greek culture was an integral part of the intellectual culture of Western and Central Europe. It helped to build up the modern view of life in the period from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century—the new philosophy that was based on deeper insights into man's nature and on social and moral concepts freed from the rules of chivalry and church. It laid the ground work for a new society and state in the classical France of the seventeenth century. In the end it became the source of the artistic and metaphysical culture of eighteenth century Germany. The so-called Hellenic ideal of German Classicism and Romanticism and of the post-Kantian philosophy in Germany was the last outcome of this development.

Gray has tried to arrest this development just at its final point. He shows how Greek philosophy was transformed into a new mythology, as far as German literature, and into a new ideology, as far as the philosophy of the young Hegel was concerned. Relying

on his perfect knowledge of the works of the young Hegel and of the literature about the specific problem of Hellenism, Gray proves that to Hegel Greek man lived in a homogeneous world. He did not need to construct principles of religion, morality, society, state, etc., he found and realized them through his innermost character. Modern man has to refer to historical tradition to achieve what the Hellenic man possessed by nature. Only the teachings of Christianity made modern man superior, and finally able to re-establish on a higher level the inner unity of the ancient man.

To the historian of literature two questions of greater importance are not answered—in fact, not even touched upon. How far was Hegel's Hellenic Ideal his own product, and how much did he owe to his intimate contact with Hölderlin? Secondly, what are the distinct differences between the Hellenism of the young Hegel and that of the young Schelling who during the first decade of the nineteenth century influenced the literary and scientific life in Germany even more than Hegel?

On the whole, however, the work of Gray is a clear, thorough, and well informed study.

GEORGE STEFANSKY

City College, New York

Coleridge Fille, A Biography of Sara Coleridge. By EARL LESLIE GRIGGS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv + 259. \$3.75.

The enduring strength of the ties forged by Coleridge with Southey and Wordsworth in their ardent youth is well illustrated in the life of his only daughter. In her early years her mind was formed by her father's friends more than by her father himself, and towards the end of her life the successive deaths of Dora Wordsworth, her brother Hartley, and finally of Wordsworth, brought her the feeling that the world in which she had grown up was passing away. Learned, charming, sensitive, and with an exceptional understanding of the relationship between literature and life, Sara Coleridge spent the whole of her fifty years in close contact with authors and poets. As a result her biography is inevitably in some measure a study in the transition from the Romantic to the Victorian Age.

None the less the dominating figure in the story of her life is S. T. C. Brought up as Sara was by her mother as a member of the Southey household, one would have thought that some bias against her father was inevitable, but her devotion to both her parents was as genuine as it was remarkable. No one understood better the failure of their marriage; she could even analyse it im-

personally in such a penetrating passage as that quoted on pp. 105-6, which no student of Coleridge can afford to ignore. Yet she gave her mother more sympathy and support than did any other member of the family, and she devoted her best energies to editing her father's works and furthering his reputation.

Professor Griggs has written a pleasant and interesting book, even though his method involves a certain amount of unnecessary repetition, and his style is sometimes unwittingly colored by the sentiment of the period of which he writes. But his enthusiasm for his subject is genuine, and he fully justifies his implied claim that the story of Sara Coleridge's life is worth retelling. If one must cavil at something, I shall merely point out that it is inaccurate to say (pp. 151-2) that "with the text of the *Biographia Literaria* she did no more than correct typographical errors." The text for the 1847 edition of this work was prepared for the press not by Sara but by Henry Nelson Coleridge before his death, and the alterations extended much further than the mere correction of typographical errors.

R. C. BALD

Cornell University

Letters on Poetry from W. B. YEATS to Dorothy Wellesley. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. viii + 216. \$2.50.

This is a charming book, and one which is invaluable for the study of Yeats. Its value and certainly its charm have been enhanced by the fact that Dorothy Wellesley has not been timid in her editing. She has printed a number of her own letters, has supplied notes (including two long notes on conversations with Yeats), has preserved Yeats' spellings, and, in general, has refused to tidy up the thoroughly personal correspondence. Whether this restraint is the effect of a sophisticated tact unusual to find, or merely the result of a rather callow naïveté is beside the point. We remain in her debt in any case.

Her own poems (which she prints in the volume) are naïve and sometimes even childish. If the seriousness with which Yeats took them—he suggests revisions and seems genuinely to admire them—comes as a shock to the reader, this lack of judgment is only one instance of a naïveté on the part of the great poet which is revealed throughout the volume. For example, during the period which the correspondence covers (May 30, 1935–Dec. 1, 1938) Yeats was at work on his *Oxford Book of Modern Verse*. The letters make it perfectly plain why the great poet was able to produce so one-sided and so wrong-headed an anthology. His ignorance of modern American poetry was amazing: he writes in 1935, "Do you know the work of Elinor Wylie? Since I found your work I have had

as sole excitement here 'Eagle and Mole,' a lovely heroic song." His lack of proportionate values is equally startling: he writes of his *Oxford Book*, "here is the present calculation of number of pages. T. S. Eliot 14½ pages, Turner 17 pages, Lady Dorothy 17½ pages, Edith Sitwell 19 pages but nobody will count."

In general, Yeats' blindides and crochets, his foibles and personal vanities, are revealed by the correspondence quite mercilessly. One feels that, insofar as the editor is concerned, they are revealed unwittingly. At any rate, not in spite of but because of these revelations, Yeats emerges as the really great figure which we have taken him to be. His greatness can survive the exposure—does survive it. It is fortunate that these letters which throw so much light on the later poems and, in general, on his quality of mind have not been needlessly held back but have been allowed to appear in print so soon.

CLEANTH BROOKS

Louisiana State University

El Arcipreste de Talavera o sea El Corbacho de ALFONSO MARTÍNEZ DE TOLEDO. Edited by LESLEY BYRD SIMPSON. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pages xii + 361.

To make a faithful reproduction of the Escorial MS, which the present text purports to do, indicating all deviations, would seem to be preferable to the procedure of Pérez Pastor, who in his edition of 1901 changed arbitrarily anything which seemed to him due to scribal carelessness. A few readings which the 1901 editor transcribed incorrectly or mistook for errors appear to have been restored. There remains, however, the question of mechanical interpretation, and it is doubtful whether a photostatic copy, with which the editor worked, can be deciphered as accurately as the MS itself.

In his *prólogo* the editor states that he has gone so far as to preserve the *desigualdades y arbitrariedades* of the scribe, but, contradictorily, that he has made certain emendations, conforming principally to Pérez Pastor. Indeed, he has preserved some blunders and attempted to correct others. To be consistent he should either have reproduced the MS exactly or endeavored to make the text read satisfactorily throughout. Among his emendations I have noted a few which, in my opinion, vitiate the meaning or are at least unnecessary.

The editor has set out to punctuate the work in the modern manner, and on the whole, where the meaning is apparent, the present edition is easier to follow than that of Pérez Pastor, which is notoriously deficient in punctuation. Departing from Spanish

usage, he has generally placed a comma before *e* and certain other conjunctions used to connect the last member of a parallel series of more than two. He has failed in several instances to set off non-restrictive phrases, and he might well have inserted commas in many places where not required by modern usage as an aid to comprehension, especially since pauses and modifiers in the Arch-priest's language often come unexpectedly. He does not set off the adverb *pero*, and he splits the illative conjunction *tanto que* except in one case. At times he injects exclamation and interrogation in a seemingly impertinent manner.

It would have been well to use *comillas* instead of italics to designate quotations, and the dash instead of quotation marks to show direct discourse. The dash is used only as in English, and parentheses have nowhere been utilized. The editor makes no mention of the cedilla with *c* before *e* and *i*, although Pérez Pastor wrote it with considerable regularity in the combinations *sce* and *sci*, and erratically elsewhere.

A good many passages have been noted wherein the editor seems to have overlooked the most logical and reasonable interpretation, rejecting sometimes punctuations already satisfactory in Pérez Pastor. It is obviously idle to attempt to punctuate the garbled passages which he has preserved.

It hardly seems properly within the scope of the work to indicate its *refranes* and popular sayings, as the editor has undertaken to do by the use of italics. Moreover, there are several allusions to proverbs, and adaptations, which are quite as important as the proverbs themselves, but which go untreated.

Although some of the sayings are, to be sure, difficult to recognize, I have discovered upwards of forty which the editor fails to indicate, but which may be found recorded in closely similar or identical form in the current dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy, in one or more of the well-known Spanish *refraneros*, or in both. There are besides these at least seventeen which by their tokens may be regarded as popular sayings beyond any reasonable doubt. It may be said, then, that no less than fifty, and perhaps sixty or seventy in all, have escaped the editor's notice. He has detected those labeled with the word *proverbio* or *enxiemplo*, but has missed others such as: *a buen callar llaman Sancho*; *Fizonos Dios, mara-villamonos nos*; *mal de muchos gozo es*; *mas sabe el loco en su casa quel cuerdo en el aena*; and *Ojos ay que de lagaña se agradan*.

Some of the shortcomings of the present edition may be accounted for by the fact that it is a work of collaboration between Mr. Simpson and his students, as he has acknowledged in his preface. He suggests that his text is to serve as a basis for such projects as a glossary, a grammar, and a study of its variants. Rather, these studies should serve as a basis for a definitive text, which deserves a more unified and painstaking treatment. Finally, it is my belief

that a great part of the meaning and spirit of the *Arcipreste de Talavera* has eluded its editor, and that we must still await an acceptable text.

M. IRVING SMITH

The University of Texas

The Art of Courtly Love. By ANDREAS CAPELLANUS with introduction, translation, and notes by JOHN JAY PARRY. *Records of Civilization*, volume XXXIII. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. xi + 218.

Professor Parry deserves the deep gratitude of all students and teachers in the mediaeval field. The work of Andreas Capellanus is a unique and indispensable document. While it has been used most extensively by scholars interested in mediaeval literature, it is equally if not more important to the historian of social ideas and practices. No one who studies or teaches mediaeval civilization can afford to neglect it. Now that Mr. Parry has made it available for rapid and easy perusal there is no excuse for neglecting it.

The introduction supplied by Mr. Parry is concise yet highly adequate. In the space of twenty-four pages it furnishes the information required for intelligent reading of the book. Mr. Parry believes that troubador poetry came from Arabic origins and presents an excellent summary of the arguments for this point of view. As I agree with him, his answer to the opposition seems to me sufficient. Others may feel that he has not done justice to their theories. In attempting to place the work of Andreas in its historical background Mr. Parry has accepted the contention of Miss Amy Kelly that it describes conditions at the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine in Poitiers during the years 1170-1173. I am inclined to believe that this conclusion is not in accord with the available evidence, but it is a matter of very slight significance.

Any one who compares my translation of certain passages from *The Art of Courtly Love* with Mr. Parry's will see that it would be pure impertinence for me to review this part of his work. I can only say that it is the type of translation desired by scholars. The stylistic peculiarities of Andreas and his involved, repetitious, and occasionally confused form of expression are preserved with remarkable fidelity. The reader of Mr. Parry's translation is as close to the mind of Andreas as the English language can bring him.

SIDNEY PAINTER

The Johns Hopkins University

Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours. By HILL, R. T. and BERGIN, T. G. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. xv + 363.

The appearance of a Provençal anthology in English is not to be lightly dismissed. It may even herald the day when the graduate student will no longer acquire the habit of referring to a celebrated romance as the "Karrenritter" and cease to regard its author as a redoubtable Panzerkommandant named Kristian von Troyes.

That, in the hundred fifty-four texts, some might have been omitted and others substituted, is true of this collection, as it would be of any. Messrs Hill and Bergin have done well enough on that score. To be commended is the frequent inclusion of *vida* and *razo*, not as "hors d'œuvre" (Appel, Crescini), but integrated, as is proper, with the text. Chabaneau, where more than one editor has gone for a ready-made biography of his troubadour, was often rejected, and rightly, (pp. 54,55), his texts being riddled with errors and lacunae carried over straight from Raynouard. But why Mahn was at times preferred is a puzzle, for he is old, incomplete in manuscripts (many a time *B* alone used), and certainly not devoid of errors. There are the necessary microfilms in this country and reliable diplomatic reprints, the only suspicious one being that of *P*, of which the photostat is in the Library of Congress. Here was an opportunity for some original work that the editors could have used to great advantage. As it is, secondary sources were almost exclusively relied on.

Some of these are unnecessary and dubious. Why take Lommatzsch as the source for the *vida* of the Monk of Montaudon (p. 106) or so second rate a work as Berry's *Florilège* for the texts of 89 and 91? Why not, rather, Bartsch, *Lesebuch*, col. 140, for the latter?

Pedagogically, there is a good deal to be desired. Small pieces like songs are not hard to place in an anthology. Larger items take more circumspection. Unless there are a few words of synopsis, between excerpts, the student's idea of the *Sancta Fides* or the *Boethius* will be vague. Not much help is offered in two pages of notes devoted to two hundred forty pages of text. There are many historical allusions throughout and such a line as *Del menor tertz d'amor son gran poder*, in Guiraut de Calanso's famous poem (p. 159), must remain an enigma, without adequate comment. Often a mere reference will suffice, as in the case of Peire's *Chantarei d'aquestz trobadors* (p. 71); e. g. *MP*. xxxi (1933-4), p. 19 (Pattison). The reader is not forewarned about the non-Provençal of the *descort* on p. 125 nor the *sirventes* of B. Calvo (p. 200). The vocabulary is not entirely adequate. With the existing aids what could the beginner do with the first strophe on p. 76, for instance? Some idioms are not explained: *ieu l'agra vis* (p. 108). Spelling

variants that must bother one not accustomed to Provençal are not dealt with in the glossary (*giquir*, which seems to occur more often than *gequir* in this book, is absent; *masan* is not there, but *mazan* is, and so forth, because examples are not wanting). *G(u)ierdon* is not to be found at all. Some phonological forms could likewise have been explained: *albe* (p. 127).

The Yale Press has done a magnificent job of printing and binding and perhaps some graduate students will not be sorry to abandon the wretched paper and type of certain foreign chrestomathies. However, the book sells for five dollars. Since we have here a collection of texts, without notes, virtually, and with a not too rich vocabulary, derived essentially from secondary sources, one asks what is the *raison d'être* of such an anthology. It is possible to reproduce these texts much more cheaply and, in the present crisis, some among those few that teach Provençal have been doing so.¹

A. H. SCHUTZ

Ohio State University

The Theatre of the Basoche. The Contribution of the Law Societies to French Mediaeval Comedy. By HOWARD GRAHAM HARVEY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 255. (Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, XVII.)

When he gave up Law for Romance, Mr. Harvey did not burn his books. He preferred to apply his knowledge of his earlier discipline to an investigation in the field of French drama. He even retained the flavor of his legal studies by arranging his material in the form of a brief: *Presenting the case, The Documentary Evidence, The Summing up*. And though a lawyer's special pleading is usually anathema to a scholar, the results he achieves are interesting and important.

He finds that in the moralities, farces, and *sotties* of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth there is far less satire of the law than has hitherto been supposed, much less than there is in other *genres* of the time. Failure to recognize this fact has led scholars to overlook the large amount of realism in the dramatization of court procedure. The mildness of the satire seems due to the fact that these plays were largely the work of law clerks or of young lawyers who either shared the point of view of their professional superiors, or stood in awe of them, or were directly restrained

¹ For the sake of completeness may we add to the mention of Professor Shepard's edition of Aimeric de Peguilhan, in preparation, those of J. Boutière (A. de Sisteron), completed but apparently unpublished, Mlle Dumitrescu and R. S. Aston (Peirol), R. Lavaud (Peire Cardenal) a work that has been going on for years, E. D. Healy (Lanfanc Cigala), Ph.D. thesis, North Carolina (completed) and the collaborative task of J. Boutière and A. H. Schutz (*vidas* and *razos*), of which one volume is reported printed "mais non broché" (!) by Privat, Toulouse.

by their censorship. When they did satirize legal processes with vigor, the attack was usually made upon ecclesiastical or rural courts, which had lost their standing in the eyes of the more important members of the profession.

Mr. Harvey believes that in *Patelin* the court is an ecclesiastical one, the title-role that of a "self-styled, more or less self-taught practitioner, a would-be advocate" (p. 160). He holds that the satire is directed chiefly against the litigant—the draper,—to a lesser degree against Patelin, and that the judge is not satirized at all. As the author's chief purpose was to excite laughter, Mr. Harvey finds that the farce has been taken too seriously as a social document. He mentions in this connection only Renan. If, as seems likely, he also had in mind the late R. C. Holbrook, the latter would certainly have pardoned the thrust in view of the fact that Mr. Harvey accepts Alecis as the author of the play.

I hope that Mr. Harvey will now apply his knowledge of French law and practice—if not his gift at pleading—to later periods of French dramatic history.¹

H. CARRINGTON LANCASTER

Les Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois: vol. I (*La Phase bilingue*), vol. II (*La Phase française*). By SÉRAPHIN MARION. *Publications sériées de l'Université d'Ottawa*, nos. V and XII. Hull and Ottawa, 1939-1940. Pp. 185 + 191. \$2.00.

The author of *Les Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois* has been publishing substantial literary and historical studies for some twenty years. As the work of an established scholar, the present researches into eighteenth-century Canadana are particularly welcome. M. Marion limits his first two volumes to competent critical surveys of the *Gazette littéraire de Montréal* (1778-1779) and the bilingual *Gazette de Québec* (1764-1806). Despite many and often painful puerilities, both weeklies provide invaluable records of what passed for intellectualism in a colonial society infected, naturally enough, with the dilettantism of the Ancien Régime.

Until about 1790, the *Quebec Gazette*, under English editorship, catered laboriously to the fashion for Voltaire among French subscribers. In 1793 enthusiasm for the Revolution was replaced by violent condemnation, which eventually made way for diatribes against Bonaparte. In the Montreal journal, Voltaire received invective as well as panegyric, although the defenders understood only his stylistic genius, and the critics stressed only his irreligion.

¹ I note only a few slips: pp. 20, 91, 254, read Tallemant; p. 159, for evidence that Jehan de Noyon was a bishop rather than a lawyer cf. U. T. Holmes, *MLN.*, LV (Feb., 1940), 105-8; p. 168, for 18— read 1855-9 (the volume number should be added); pp. 174, 182, for Madame read Made-moiselle.

M. Marion shows effectively how nebulous voltairianism had become after crossing the Atlantic. Boileau and La Fontaine were the only other authors to win much approbation in eighteenth-century Montreal, and even Rousseau figures but three times in the *Gazette littéraire*.

Current French literature, however, formed only part of the stock-in-trade of the two weeklies, which abound in local verse and news oddities. Among frequent polemics are interspersed mildly engaging dissertations on feminism, fashions, free-masonry, literary taste, insect bane, excessive eulogy, the evils of cards, and the "état présent de l'hymen en Angleterre."

Two Frenchmen of questionable probity published the *Gazette littéraire* for an *Académie de Montréal*, the precise character of which still invites investigation. As members, M. Marion has unearthed the two editors, two anonymous Québécois, and some unnamed students in Montreal. While the *Gazette* might not have been above inventing an imaginary society, a forged protest against it would hardly have been attributed in print to the Sulpician Montgolfier. Consequently, the possibility, advanced elsewhere, that the *Académie de Montréal* did not exist must be rejected.

M. Marion has been criticized for "feuding" with Voltaire. Since his manifest objectivity in presenting facts is not affected by this incidental consideration, it should be mentioned merely for readers expecting to find support for the fallacy that French-Canadian literature reflects only prudery and parochialism.¹

Despite minor imperfections, *Les Lettres canadiennes d'autrefois* does great credit to French scholarship in Canada. The author has accomplished a practical compromise between research and a semi-popular style. Thoroughly aware of their shortcomings, M. Marion is careful to qualify the content of the two *Gazettes* as "babioles qui éternisent un débat, du signolage autour de gentils riens" (II, 89). The first volume successfully represents the mingled effect of British politics and French interests in Quebec society during the first years of English domination.

The second volume establishes the need for more research on the rôle of the French eighteenth century in Canadian thought. Much has been published concerning the influence of later French poets, but M. Marion's findings involve a socio-literary field which others have left virtually untouched. In the meantime, his extensive explorations will further sympathetic understanding of a period in Canadian history when the future of indigenous French literature was still in grave jeopardy.

EDWARD B. HAM

University of Michigan

¹ Despite obvious aversion, M. Marion is careful to give Voltaire his due (e.g., I, 56; II, 34, 62). Nor has he failed to insist, for instance, that "ceux qui ne reconnaissent pas le droit de peindre le péché demandent, en somme, la suppression d'à peu près toute la littérature" (*Sur les Pas de nos littérateurs*, p. 185).

BRIEF MENTION

Die Barocken Stilmerkmale in der englischen, lateinischen, und deutschen Fassung von Dr. Thomas Burnet's "Theory of the Earth." By DR. ELISABETH HALLER. Bern: A. Francke, 1940. Pp. xiv + 179. (Schweizer Anglistische Arbeiten, 9.) It was the late Professor Fehr of Zürich who suggested to Dr. Haller a study of the three versions of Burnet's *Theory of the Earth* in order to determine whether we are justified in speaking of a baroque style in English prose. The reasons for the choice of this work have been, 1, the existence of Latin, German, and English versions of about the same date, and, 2, the fact that Burnet, not being a *Dichter*, that is, an individual or imaginative writer, better represents the prevailing prose conventions of his time. There is something to be said, however, against both of these reasons. In the first place, the English version of the *Theory* is not a translation of the Latin one, but, as Dr. Haller shows, a very free re-writing of it. Dr. Haller faithfully studies all three versions, but it must be said that a stylistic comparison of them is not fruitful. In the second place, the period of the *Theory*, the last quarter of the 17th century, is not the best time for a study of the baroque, which was at its height in the first and second quarters of the century.

These limitations were inherent in the task that Dr. Haller undertook. Her performance itself is competent and workmanlike. She finds her tests of the baroque style in Wölflin's famous *Renaissance und Barock*, and in studies by two later scholars of the specific subject of baroque in English literature, and applies these tests in a study of, 1, the vocabulary, 2, the imagery, and, 3, the form of the rhetorical period in Burnet's work. Her conclusions are that we are justified in speaking of a baroque English style, and that the Latin shows least baroque character, the German most of the three.

Wölflin's remarkable work concerned itself with style in the arts of design alone. To transpose his principles into the terms of literature is far from easy, and the attempt is likely to lead to confusions. But confusion is worse confounded when the common denominator of literature and painting is sought, as it is in fact sought by a number of German students of literary baroque, in certain abstract ideas concerning the nature of the 17th century mind. For example, a scholar quoted by Dr. Haller characterizes the period of baroque as an age of "Expansion—Concentration," "Makrokosmos—Mikrokosmos." Under such a generalization one may show almost anything and include about everything; and it is not surprising that this scholar includes, in fact, things so different as Lyly's *Euphues* and Donne's sermons in the baroque style. Dr. Haller herself does not deal in such philosophic obfuscations, and encourages them only by quotation from others.

MORRIS W. CROLL

Princeton University

The Study of the Nibelungenlied, Being the History of the Study of the Epic and Legend from 1755 to 1937. By MARY THORP. (*Oxford Studies in Modern Languages and Literature*). Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. vi + 196. \$4.25. This book purports to present "the story of the change of public opinion, of the beginning and ever-increasing growth of the study of the epic and legend" of the NL from 1755 to 1937. The first and most valuable chapter offers the gradual evolution of the theories concerning origin, authorship and home of the NL. Hundreds of well-known authors and critics pass by the reviewing stand to express their viewpoints in thesis and antithesis. Tackled from all possible directions, now with the Rhenish problem, now with the Danubian, Bavarian, Austrian or Hungarian in the foreground, this century-old question, which has revolved chiefly about "Einheitstheorie" or "Liedertheorie" and even stirred the best of scholars to private feuds, culminates in disparate, but suggestive theories, as proffered in this last decade by men like Schröfl, Gareis, Schütte and Körner. Of lesser importance is the discussion of the MS-criticism in which the respective merits of the shortest, longest, most elaborate and best text of the MSS is weighed. The last chapter is devoted entirely to a chronologically ordered bibliography of several hundred titles, listing all works on the NL-theories, MHG editions (49), NHG translations (70), translations into English (11), and the numerous adaptations of the NL, from Hans Sachs to Bachmeister. It need hardly be said that this history of the NL-theories and this bibliography, prepared with utmost thoroughness, make this book indispensable for any student of the NL. With a deep sense of pessimism one lays the book aside, to ask: Shall we ever really know? Yet, might not the solution be as simple as the egg of Columbus and, as Schröfl would have it, might not Pilgrim have been the compiler after all (Klage: "Von Pazzowe der bischof Pilgrim . . . hiez er schriben diz maere.")?

CARL SELMER

Hunter College of the
City of New York

The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Dramatic Companies and Players. By GERALD EADES BENTLEY. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York, Oxford University Press, 1941. 2 vols. Pp. xx + 344, viii + pp. 343 [sic]—750. \$12.50. Professor Bentley's laudable purpose is "to carry on the admirable survey made by Sir Edmund Chambers in *The Elizabethan Stage* from 1616, his terminal date, to the closing of the theatres in 1642." Later volumes will treat the plays, the playwrights, the theaters, and the "conditions of play production." Mr. Bentley first summarizes the histories of the old

companies before 1616 and continues them to 1642. The new companies are then dealt with in the order of first appearance. A special feature of the dictionary of actors is the quotation of "every scrap of biographical evidence (except for the careers of English actors in Germany)," after, that is, 1616.

That these volumes will be warmly welcomed goes without saying. Mr. Bentley is closing the gap between the encyclopedic works of Sir Edmund Chambers on the earlier drama and those of Professor Allardyce Nicoll on the later. He proceeds, it is true, only to 1642; but the remaining years down to 1660, when Mr. Nicoll begins, are already well covered in Dr. Leslie Hotson's *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage. The Jacobean and Caroline Stage* is a generous performance: evidence is stated, quotation is full, difficulties are never dodged. A valuable appendix gives, among other things, wills of theatrical interest, evidence for the closing of the theaters because of plague, and the theatrical entries in Sir Humphrey Mildmay's diary and account book (1632-43). In short, Mr. Bentley has provided us with a tool the indispensability of which is self-evident, and students of seventeenth-century drama will gratefully but impatiently await the appearance of his remaining volumes.

H. S.

A Revolution in European Poetry. By EMERY NEFF. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. xiv + 249. \$3.00. Some provincialism in knowledge and taste is as inevitable as it is in a measure desirable. When there is available in the native tongue a poetry incredibly rich in range and quality, a certain lack of cosmopolitanism is understandable if not altogether pardonable. It may be, as Mr. Neff states, that Americans, having achieved literary independence, although harboring few illusions of literary greatness, are in a favorable position to make and profit from an impartial appraisal of the major poetry of Italy, Germany, and France, as well as that of England. It is perhaps true that the literature of England has tended to dominate too exclusively our attention and our judgment of continental writers.

This book undertakes a peculiarly difficult task—that of tracing in a fairly brief volume the course of poetry in the chief European languages from the late seventeenth to the twentieth century. Foreign language difficulties are met, in so far as is possible, by giving the many and well chosen illustrative selections in both the original and in translation. The English poets are generously represented. To say that the book is written primarily for the intelligent and interested layman is not at all to imply that it is a work of facile condensation and generalization. Mr. Neff has written a skilful, thoughtful, apt, and integrated account of the

major figures, influences, ideas, moods, and forms which make up both the national and international mosaic of eighteenth and nineteenth century European poetry. It is a summation which could be made only by a scholar and a critic sensitive to literary values. Commendable is the writer's avoidance of such omnibus terms as 'neo-classic' and 'romantic,' which more often than not are a hasty device for avoiding responsibility.

"The liberation of lyricism in France [with Rimbaud and Verlaine] completed the cycle of the European revolt against the taste of the era of Louis XIV." Detached objectivity is no doubt an admirable quality; but in the context of the last chapter—despair, ineradicable depravity, brutal realism, esoteric ennui, maladjustment, lost faiths, jaded sophistication, reckless futility—that word "liberation" spells a curious victory.

C. P. LYONS

The University of Florida

Darwinism in the English Novel, 1860-1910. By LEO J. HENKIN. New York: Corporate Press, 1940. Pp. 303. \$3.00. This book makes interesting reading; so much so that this reviewer found it difficult to lay it down before its end. It is a straightforward treatise, the material of which is apparent from the title. Dr. Henkin hews so strictly to the line, in fact, that his structure becomes a little mechanical, and some of the possibilities in his topics remain unrealized. For example, although he mentions Lucretius once or twice, he fails to indicate the wide-spread interest which educated men of the eighteenth century had in the speculations of the great Latin "atheist," and hence neglects background important to an understanding of, say, the animus behind that satiric laughter which was directed against Lord Monboddo's orang-outangs. He tends also, while over-emphasizing H. G. Wells, to underemphasize Hardy, who was an incomparably greater artist than Wells, but whose relation to evolutionary science is less apparent. To confine discussion of Hardy, as Dr. Henkin does, to a few general comments with brief reference to *Two on a Tower* and *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, omitting consideration of more important works like *The Return of the Native*, *Tess*, and *Jude*, whose whole tragic spirit is dependent upon Hardy's acceptance of evolutionary science, is misleading. Nevertheless these are details, however important; and to dwell too much upon them is unfair to the author. Dr. Henkin's chapters on the history of science itself are admirable—brief, simply worded, clear enough to enlighten a reader unacquainted with the standard histories of evolutionary ideas, and yet original enough to interest one who does have previous knowledge of the subject. His numerous summaries of novels—sum-

maries which are of vital importance to his treatise—are remarkably vivid and compact. Anyone completing the book will emerge with much clearer understanding of one important chapter in the history of English novels, and with the satisfaction of having been interested and amused as well as profitably instructed.

University of California

GEORGE R. POTTER

Maurice Hewlett: Historical Romancer. By ARTHUR BRUCE SUTHERLAND. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1938. (Dissertation.) Pp. x + 199. In this dissertation Dr. Sutherland traces the course of Maurice Hewlett's career as a romancer, giving full critical summaries of his more important books and ending with a biographical chapter where, unfortunately with some effect of repetition, he undertakes to show how the work sprang naturally from the varying circumstances of Hewlett's life. The chief value of the dissertation seems to lie in its establishment of three or four historical points about Hewlett, rather than in any detail of aesthetic criticism. The arc of Hewlett's reputation, shooting up at the turn of the century and then trailing off sadly as he insisted on cultivating the wrong fields, is clearly shown. So too is the painstaking research which underlay the novels, the earlier ones especially—research, by the way, of which Hewlett makes his reader all too well aware. Still another point is the derivative nature of Hewlett's work, a subject of bitter argument between him and the critics, whose view of it was less pleasant than his. (Hewlett declared that he detested Meredith and never read his novels, yet the critics have always found the hand of Meredith heavy upon him.) Again, Dr. Sutherland brings out well Hewlett's strong social preoccupation in his later work, notably his interest in divorce reform and his glorification of the English peasant in *The Song of the Plow*. Of Dr. Sutherland's own style one might say that more pains would have helped it. As for the implication that when the time is no longer out of joint Hewlett will come into his own again, it is, one supposes, to be expected; a pious hope, but here, as in most cases, a pretty forlorn one.

University of Minnesota

J. T. HILLHOUSE

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